

A STUDY OF SELF-CONCEPTIONS
AS THE BASIS OF
MAN-ENVIRONMENT RELATIONS


by

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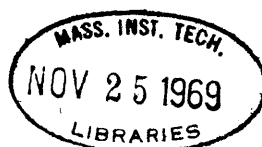
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In this thesis, man-environment relations are studied using the construct of Self-Conceptions as an analytical device. The self is defined as a person's subjective cognitions and evaluations of himself. It serves as an organized set of cognitive schemata that facilitate the individual's efforts to relate the environment to himself. Social roles constitute the basic framework of the self.

Data from a random sample survey questionnaire administered in two residential areas was analyzed in order to evaluate the influence of self-conceptions on man-environment relations.

From responses to questions, four groups expressing different self-concepts were identified. The variations in attitudes, values, and uses of the spatial environment by these four groups was evaluated with respect to expectations for each group based upon self-concept theory.

The analysis showed that concepts of self are able to identify and explain a number of attitudes and uses of the environment. It was found that the spatial environment of the local neighborhood is important to self-esteem, maintenance, and consistency of a person's identity, and to his presentation, or communication, of that identity to others.

The use of self-concepts also suggests that man-environment relations are basically cognitive in character, and are often selectively constructed by the individual to reinforce desired self-conceptions, or achieve personal objectives.

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I. Introduction

A. Context of Study

At present there is a small but increasing number of studies and research on man-environment relationships. A number of universities have created new departments or courses specifically to study these relationships.

To some extent, this increased awareness and concern is probably a reaction to the discovery of architects and planners that the urban building programs of the past two decades were not achieving the social objectives for which they had been originally conceived.¹ But, it must also be related to the fact that, in our ever enlarging urban environment, more and more of our daily lives take place in and around a built, spatial environment that is of our own making.

The study of man-environment relations has become important simply because we know so little about them; and yet, as planners and architects, we are being called upon to make decisions that will affect large numbers of people, and to meet human needs whose relation to the spatial environment is not clearly understood.

Unlike many other fields, architects and planners cannot easily test or evaluate their designs. This makes it especially vital that they understand the nature and relationship of the human activities and needs in terms of their spatial requirements and implications.

B. Research Issues

Analyzing the spatial environment with respect to its psychological implications has introduced a number of problems. Among these is what

is basically a problem of language, or concepts. Psychological and environmental disciplines have evolved largely isolated from one another. In psychology, the spatial environment has been usually regarded as little more than a stimulus.

In architecture, "form follows function" has been a popular phrase, but its practice has been limited largely to a concern for the "function" of materials rather than the use of space. Recently the concept of "fit" between human need and spatial solution has emerged.² However, so far this has appeared to be a desired objective lacking any operational criteria (except perhaps intuitive).

Thus, the problem remains of how to conceive the environment psychologically, and how to conceive values, attitudes, and behavior in spatial terms. Carr notes that "environmental units for design-related analysis and research must refer both to human activities and the settings which support them."³

The problem of how to conceptualize the relationship between man and environment also raises the question of what are important (i.e. useful) ways to conceive them. At present the number of approaches seem almost to equal the number of people doing research. They range from ecological, to behavioral and perceptual. While each may contribute new knowledge, their utility will, in the end, be evaluated according to their ability to help designers plan better environments.

C. Position and Approach of Thesis

We will take the position in this thesis that the psychological importance of the spatial environment must be evaluated in terms of

what's relevant to the user as he conceives it (i.e. actions and attitudes are those of individuals, not groups). Consequently, the conception, or approach, to the study of man-environment relations is best studied from the perspective of the individual. At the same time, the spatial designer must have data which is generally applicable and consistent for given types or classes of individuals, activities, and settings.

To resolve these two apparently conflicting requirements we will be using the Social-Psychological construct of the "Self-Concept." In Section II we will develop the reasoning for using this construct.

The study itself is exploratory and will examine the potential of the use of self-concepts as an analytical device for the study of man-environment relations. Secondly, it will explore the implications of conceiving man-environment relations as a function of what an individual believes the relevance of the spatial environment is to himself.

II. Discussion of Self-Concepts

The self is generally defined as an explanatory concept with hypothetical properties used to explain the impact of the (social-physical) environment upon a person's behavior.⁴ A person's self-concept is seen as his subjective cognitions and evaluations of himself.⁵ Most writers agree that social roles constitute the organizing framework for the self, and that this framework is manifested in the individual as a collection of values, goals, and aspirations.⁶ These are organized as sets of cognitive schemata for relating oneself to the environment and guiding actions and responses to it.

The self is generally believed to involve the forming of a perceptual object of oneself through role-taking which allows observation of the self from the perspective of others involved in a situation.⁷ This suggests that the self is derived from action rather than from reflection. Cooley (1922) made this same point in another way when he stated that the sense of self arises from that interplay between acts of appropriation and societal regulation.⁸

A person's "sense of self" constitutes his identity. Identity may be defined as the consciousness of having effects upon the environment, and being individuated and affected by it (at the interpersonal level). At the psychological level it is the awareness and feeling of responsibility for choices and their consequences.⁹ This implies that the

individual will interpret (and evaluate) his own actions as representations of himself.¹⁰ It also permits the researcher to assume that there will exist a consistent relationship between what a person does and his self-conceptions.¹¹

A person's concepts of self and of others are highly interdependent. Not only are a person's self-conceptions influenced by his concepts of others, but he also employs his self-conceptions as cognitive schemata to interpret and evaluate the "selves" of others and his relationship to them.

Thus, a person's conceptions of others are both determiners and the products of social interaction. They are necessary for social interaction to occur, for whenever men are socially interdependent, they must concern themselves with the impressions they make upon one another.¹²

With the self-concept as the criterion for interpretation and evaluation, the dynamics of social interaction are less contingent upon immediate approval as on the generation of self-images that confirm one's self-conceptions.¹³ For example, a community group might be less concerned about the mayor not acting on their demands in a given social exchange than if he failed to demonstrate an appropriate concern and respect for their views. Using social roles as the basis of self- and other-conceptions reduces the need for idiosyncratic interpretations by researcher as well as by the actors involved.¹⁴

Each person has his own repertory of role constructs which help to anchor and stabilize perceptions of the environment. The formation of these role constructs yields sets of beliefs about the nature and meaning of the environment. In addition, the formation of these beliefs is accompanied by the formation of beliefs that others in a similar position will form similar beliefs.¹⁵

The self creates an orientation which predisposes one to certain modes and categories for interpreting the environment. It also generates a tendency to select environments and activities which are supportive to, and are believed by the individual to be congruent with his self-conceptions and abilities.¹⁶ It has been suggested that one function of ghettos is to provide settings which allow minority groups to maintain life-styles and values not common to or generally supported elsewhere.

Much of the motivation of self-oriented action derives from the need for self-esteem which is a function of achievement or the desire to be positively evaluated (or to avoid negative evaluations) by others.¹⁷ However, it should also be noted that the consciousness of self is not always a positive value, and it may not be essential or even desired in many situations.

In the typical interaction situation, the actual exchange is preceded by an anticipatory image or "picture" of alter's self-character which

may be then confirmed or altered by the subsequent gestures of the exchange. There is a tendency to identify others more by their motives than by their actions.¹⁸ This is related to, and important because of its importance to being able to predict the other person's behavior prior to the actual exchange. Where motives take precedence over actions, the importance of category-defining environmental cues that facilitate the formation of anticipatory expectations is clearly indicated.

It is the contention of some authors that a basic human need is the preservation and enhancement of the self.¹⁹ The reasonableness of this assertion is reinforced when one considers the categorizational functions of the self in relating the environment to the individual, and its applications to social interaction.

We have already noted that the self is greatly motivated by self-esteem and the need to be positively evaluated by others. Self-enhancement is contingent upon the maintenance of self-integrity, or self-consistency. The consistency and stability of the self are contingent upon the continuing confirmation of one's self-conceptions in social interaction.²⁰ This dependence upon the responses of others requires that we protect each others' self-esteem. Social interaction tends to become identity oriented when a person perceives a discrepancy between his self-image in the immediate situation and his basic self-conceptions.²¹ Experiences inconsistent with one's self-conceptions

tend to lead to a more rigid self-structure in order to maintain itself. There is good reason for this in that, from an identity standpoint, the person has a considerable emotional investment in his self-conceptions. Furthermore, one's self-conceptions are highly interrelated so that any inconsistency can have extensive repercussions throughout the self. With respect to the spatial environment, this can be quite crucial in that a person generally has little control over it, and self-asserting actions may be much more difficult.

Situations with high, or potentially high anonymity also tend to increase identity-oriented behavior.²² To counteract these kinds of situations (i.e. inconsistency or anonymity), the individual may try to direct social exchanges along lines more consistent with his own self-conceptions and values.²³ Much of Goffman's work on "Self-Presentation" and the use of "stages" and "props" explores this kind of behavior.²⁴ Hall also discusses these kinds of manipulative acts.²⁵ The "head of the table," raised speaking platforms, or certain kinds of dress may be used to convey impressions of self to others.

III. Application of Self-Concepts to Man-Environment Relations

A. Nature and Implications of Self-Concept Approach

The discussion of the self in the preceding section suggests a number of implications for the application of self-concepts to the analysis of man-environment relations. The most important rests upon the conception of the self as a set of cognitive schemata that an individual applies in relating the environment to himself. This implies that relationships between man and his environment are themselves cognitive in character, and correspondingly that the empirically observable relations between man and environment are in actuality the products of those cognitive relationships. For the purposes of this study we will exclude those physical and physiological relationships that are largely independent of any cognitive awareness since they are generally operative equally on all individuals, and hence are not useful to the study of differentiated behavior.

The cognitive character of man-environment relationships points up the fact that such relationships are highly dependent upon the characteristics of both the individual and the situation in which the relationship is operative. The same individual can respond quite differently to the same environmental objects or stimuli depending upon his own interpretation of their meaning and implications for his own needs or objectives at a given point in time. The controlling variables are the operative social roles that the person is acting out and using to assess the meaning of the perceived environment.

Such an interpretation of the nature of man-environment relations might lead one to believe that this would generate very idiosyncratic forms of relationships. However this is not the case due to the interpersonal basis and functions of the self-conception. The rights and obligations of role relationships between actors necessitate the maintenance of given man-environment meanings. Also, the application of self-conceptions as cognitive schemata for anticipating and predicting the implications of the environment for one's own actions is dependent upon the social maintenance of stable and consistent man-environment relations.

This investigation will focus upon four aspects of the self, though it will not be our intention to fully develop any comprehensive discussion of them. Rather, we will be using them as vehicles for developing an analysis of the data, and to provide the bases for constructing hypotheses. Since research along the lines under consideration here is so meager, we shall be more oriented towards exploring an approach and developing new insights into the nature of man-environment relationships than in generating any conclusive findings.

The four aspects are identity, esteem, consistency, and maintenance. They are not mutually exclusive, but rather are highly interdependent. Identity may be interpreted as a product of the formation of the self. If the self is seen as a process of relating

oneself to the environment, then self-identity may be thought of as those role-sets which a person associates himself with and uses in determining those relationships. Thus, identity is vital to the individual as a means of interpreting the meaning of environmental stimuli, and in providing a set of cognitive criteria for guiding behavior in response to the environment.

Esteem we have already introduced in relation to self-enhancement. Self-esteem is considered important because it relies principally upon supportive social relationships, and therefore high positive self-esteem generally facilitates achievement of one's objectives. We shall also develop the idea that self-esteem, in relation with consistency principles, is reflected in a person's conceptions and attitudes towards the environment. (This is an extension of Rosenberg's assertion that aspiration levels are affected by self-concepts.²⁶)

Self-consistency has several forms. The first, already mentioned, is concerned with the consistency between what a person believes and does. The second deals with the degree of consistency between self-conceptions. Here we would expect that different aspects of a person's self-conception would tend to support each other -- or at least, not directly contradict each other. Should a contradiction occur, we would predict a condition of "cognitive dissonance" and expect some attempt by the person to resolve it (e.g. through changes in self-conceptions, formation of defense mechanisms, or even in distorting perceptions). Consistency can also relate to the stability of

one's self-conceptions. Low stability may be illustrated by a person whose opinions about himself are constantly fluctuating. Such a person can be said to have a poor concept of identity and may have difficulty relating to his environment. High stability may lead to an over-rigid self-conception making a person unable to cope with a changing environment, hence increasing the potential for frustration and withdrawal. Another form of consistency, and one we shall look at in this study, is the consistency of the spatial environment in terms of its reflectiveness, or supportiveness of a person's self-conceptions. Here we will explore the hypothesis that a person manipulates, and is selective about his conceptions of the spatial environment so as to achieve the most consistency and esteem.

This leads us to the fourth element we will focus on; maintenance. Maintenance is the dynamic aspect of the elements discussed above. Identity, esteem, and consistency all require an active effort on the part of the individual. Each is important in guiding, predicting, and interpreting behavior in the day-to-day encounters with others. Thus, it is vital that each be maintained and enhanced constantly by the person. The relationship of the spatial environment to this process is what we shall try to explore in this study.

B. Related Studies

Evidence that roles do provide, and are used as a basis of determining personal characteristics, or the identity of others is shown in a study by Jones.²⁷ They constructed a series of four taped job interviews for two roles -- that of a submariner, and of an astronaut. For each role position, one interview contained replies consistent with role requirements, and one inconsistent. After listening to each interview, subjects were asked to state their general impressions of the person on the tape who was being interviewed, and to fill out a questionnaire which included reconstructing from memory the answers to questions on the tape.

The researchers' expectations were confirmed in that roles did function as organizing elements of the subject's person-conceptions. This was emphasized by the fact that "in-role" interviews were more accurately recalled than the inconsistent "out-of-role" interviews. They also found that subjects felt that the "out-of-role" interviews revealed more of the interviewee's true character which further emphasizes the use of roles as evaluative criteria in achieving person-conceptions of others.

In a study two years ago by the author, the use of space by classes of architectural students was studied.²⁸ One of the highly correlated relationships found was that between where a person's desk was located in the class space and the attitudes of other class members toward that student.

Evaluation included observation, student and instructor interviews, and sociometric questionnaires. Students rated as "doing

good work" and "most often worked with" were identified as "prime-movers" and were invariably located near or at the center of the class space (high visibility was included in the definition of "center of class space" as well as "access"). Poor workers "worked with least often" located themselves on the periphery of the class space, and sometimes moved out of the class space completely, either working at home or elsewhere on the floor (each class occupied approximately one-tenth of the total floor-area).

Since each student chose his own work-space, it was concluded that locational decisions represented spatial preferences, and that other students were in some way sensitive to the social implications of location. This was reinforced by the frequent movement of the drafting tables by the students during the period of observation. More often than not these moves were clearly correlated with changing social relationships among the class members.

Furthermore, there was a clear differentiation between the way the class space was used according to how the class was organized. Where all the class members were working cooperatively on a single problem, the spatial arrangement tended to reflect the division of labor and higher communication necessary. Also, the boundaries of the space were more rigidly maintained, and entrances were more limited and formal. Classes in which students worked independently on a design problem had class spaces in which greater personalization of individual work-areas occurred, circulation tended to be less efficient, and boundaries and entrances were more informal, permeable, and not as well maintained.

A third study which we can refer to is one by Otis which studied, among other things, the factors determining an individual's perception of neighborhood boundaries.²⁹ He found that physical boundaries tended to increase in importance relative to the respondent's perception of it as congruent with social boundaries such as class, or ethnic differences. He also found that in defining what they believed to be the boundaries of their own neighborhoods, respondents tended to include adjacent higher status areas and exclude lower ones. This would be consistent with our discussion of behavior oriented to enhancement and self-esteem.

C. Description of Study Areas and Data Collection

The data we shall be using for our investigations was the product of a course at M.I.T. taught by Professor Stephen Carr and Doctor Mary Potter in the Department of City Planning. The study focuses upon the uses of the urban spatial environment for communication. A lengthy questionnaire was constructed (see Appendix A) to test a number of assumptions, and generally try to acquire detailed information on the ways people used the spatial environment in their day-to-day activities.

Two areas were selected for analysis. An attempt was made to select two areas with similar physical and demographic characteristics, but with one being in the central urban area and the other in the inner suburban ring. An area in central Cambridge called Cambridgeport was selected for the former, and one in Medford called West Medford for the latter. (See Map 1 in Appendix B.)

Cambridgeport is an older area with mostly 50- to 100-year old structures that are predominately wood frame multi-family dwellings. Medford is a much younger area, though most dwellings are 20 to 30 years old. A considerable number of them are duplexes, though the majority are single-family units. Two major differences physically between the two areas are density and variety of spatial use-types. Medford is much lower in density and more homogeneous in terms of land use. Cambridge dwellings tend to have very small yards or none at all, and schools, churches, small commercial areas, large apartment buildings, and a housing project exist there. (See Maps 2-5 in Appendix C.)

While the data that was collected was by random sample of willing respondents, the distribution of social characteristics was not considered to be necessarily representative of actual conditions or distributions in the two areas. In the sample, Medford residents were slightly younger, had an average income somewhat higher, and more of them tended to have children but of approximately the same age range as in Cambridge. Consistent with the differences in housing types, more people in Medford own their homes than in Cambridge. The above characteristics are most likely representative of the two areas.

The percentage of Negroes in the Medford sample was approximately 40% but less than 10% in Cambridge. Also, 10% of the Cambridge residents in the sample lived in the housing project, and half lived in the area over twenty years. These results are accidents

of the sampling procedure, and are not considered to be accurate reflections of the two areas. For these reasons and because of such factors as the small sample size and the inexperience of interviewers, the results for the two areas has only limited accuracy as a reflection of actual conditions.

Since it will not be our intention to focus primarily on the differences in man-environment relations between the two areas, these factors will not seriously impair the validity of our study. The reason for this is that we will be attempting to focus upon consistencies among respondents who express similar responses along self-concept dimensions. Hence, we will be more interested in how the different types of respondents that are identified differ in their responses from one area to another. A more accurate sample might enable us to better understand his responses and the different distributions of various types of respondents, but it will have little bearing upon the fact that different types of individuals exist in the two areas.

Each student in the course conducted up to six interviews; half in each of the two areas. Residences were selected by means of random selection on maps of the two areas in such a way as to evenly distribute respondents over the entire area, but if a given address did not yield a respondent, the interviewer tried successive dwellings until one was found. Hence, the sample was a random selection of willing respondents.

The total sample consisted of sixty interviews of which thirty-two were in Medford and twenty-eight in Cambridge. While over one hundred questions were in the questionnaire, only a fraction of those were used for this study. (Questions used are noted in the questionnaire; see Appendix A.)

As indicated above, the study will attempt to identify several groupings of respondents who have similar responses to questions concerning their self-conceptions. Two questions will be combined to yield four groups. These four groups will be used to determine whether the application of self-concepts to man-environment relations provides a way of looking at those relations that is internally consistent and yields correlations that are consistent with expectations based upon concepts of self theory.

The limitations in the data discussed above, and the fact that only two aspects of the respondent's self-conceptions will be used to evaluate the data seriously limit the reliability of the study. Nonetheless, it does offer some evidence that such an approach is a potentially useful one for studying and generating hypotheses about the nature and dynamics of man-environment relationships.

IV. Findings

A. Social Influences on the Nature of a Person's Conception of the Relation of the Environment to Himself

It will be an assumption in this study that the West Medford area

is a generally more desirable area to live in than Cambridgeport. This is subjective, but simply based upon observable trends in this country, people have typically preferred the suburban, spacious, largely single-family homes with private yards type of environment that Medford represents, as opposed to the mixed use, multi-family, older setting of Cambridgeport.

From this assumption, we should be able to see evidence of a greater propensity to manifest in one's self-conceptions an identification with one's neighborhood as a reflection of one's own values in Medford than in Cambridge.

This is borne out by the fact that 73% of the respondents in Medford stated that they felt that they were a "part of the neighborhood" as opposed to its being "just a place to live." By contrast, only 52% of the respondents in Cambridgeport felt this way.

Whether one felt a part of the neighborhood or that it was just a place to live will be one of the two questions used to identify the four groups whose varying self-concepts will be compared with respect to their responses to certain questions concerning spatial attitudes and values.

Feeling that one was a "part of the neighborhood" was interpreted to indicate a perception by the respondent that the neighborhood environment was congruent with, and supportive of his self-conceptions. Alternatively, one could posit that a person's sense of identity would be directly proportional to the length of time the respondent has lived in the area; thus, making the relationship more a function of habituation

and familiarity. Later, we will show that length of residence does have a pronounced effect upon one's sense of identification with his neighborhood, but with reference to the above, respondents in Cambridgeport have lived in both the city and their present homes longer on the average than have those in Medford. This is contrary to what we would expect if length of residence was the determining variable.

1. Relationship of Where Friends are Located

The second question used to identify four different types of respondents dealt with the location of one's social relationships.

A person's sense of personal identity does not exist in a vacuum. Rather, it exists in and reflects in our relations with others. Consequently, identification with one's neighborhood is likely to be influenced by the nature of one's social relationships. Logically, we would expect that a person's self-conceptions of his neighborhood as "something he is a part of" is related to the location of the majority of his social relationships. Table 1 shows the correlation between "part-place" replies and answers to the question, "Do most of the people or families that you visit or go out with live in the neighborhood or elsewhere?"

TABLE ONE

<u>Friends in Area</u>	<u>Part of Neighborhood</u>	<u>Place to live</u>
	A	B
Medford	10	3
Cambridge	7	3
Total	17	6

TABLE ONE continued

<u>Friends Elsewhere</u>	<u>Part of Neighborhood</u>	<u>Place to live</u>
	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>
Medford	11	5
Cambridge	<u>7</u>	<u>10</u>
Total	18	15

Note: Letters A through D indicate the four groups (i.e. A=in-part) to be used in the study.

2. Formulation of Self-Concept Type Characteristics

The four cells of Table 1 break down our sample into the four groups whose responses will be evaluated in terms of consistency and expectations based upon self-concept implications.

For each group we should expect different responses and attitudes toward the environment which reflect their varying self-conceptions. The following discussion outlines a profile of general attitudes and orientations for each of the four groups in Table 1 that we might expect based on their responses to the two preceding questions. (See Appendix B for a description of selected social characteristics of the four groups.) The A and C groups, who feel part of the neighborhood, have been characterized as identifying with the area. From this we should expect that they are basically positive in their attitudes and values toward the area. Also, they are likely to feel that both the area itself and the people there share and express similar values. Identifying with the area will tend to increase one's sense of involvement and concern as any undesirable features would tend to reflect upon

one's self. For this reason, A and C groups are more likely to be more sensitive to things that are dissonant with expectations since their identification with the area generates greater dependency upon it.

Those that say the area is just a place to live are interpreted as attempting to psychologically "distance" or dissassociate themselves from the neighborhood. There is less ego involved in the area and they are more likely to be less socially involved. Hence, they are likely to be less sensitive to objects and events in the neighborhood, and less articulate in stating their values about the area (or more general). However, they should tend to support, respond to, and attempt to enhance their own self-image with respect to the neighborhood since it is often difficult to control being identified with the neighborhood by others.

By introducing the second question of where the majority of one's social relationships are locating, we can further differentiate the groups. The A group (part-in) is considered to be most closely identifying with and involved in the neighborhood. The fact that most of their socializing occurs within the area would tend to focus their perceptions and attitudes toward the social aspects of the environment. Their social involvement also means that identity, self-esteem, and self-maintenance are more dependent upon the attitudes and responses of others in the neighborhood.

In contrast, the C group (part-elsewhere) is more likely to be oriented to the responses of people outside of the area. Though,

since they identify with the neighborhood, they are still concerned with the area as a reflection of their own values (but with the focus on how others outside the area will respond). The main difference we should expect between the A and C groups is that the A group is more oriented to the confirmation of self-conceptions within and by the environment, whereas the C group is more concerned with communicating desired conceptions of self to others.

The B group (place-in) is very small in the sample, so any hypothetical characterizations of them will be difficult to assess. It was felt that two different types could be derived from this group. The first would include simply those who were relatively new to the area, and while identifying with it, had not yet developed extensive enough social ties to feel part of the area. The second type would likely include those who maintained a relatively low number of close social relationships within the area, but who generally felt that the area was inadequate or did not reflect their personal values. As such, they should tend to focus upon those features of the environment which do enhance self-esteem, and to distance themselves from non-supportive features. Because of their low ego-investment in the area they are able to do this.

The D group (place-else) are the least ego-involved with the area. One can expect that they would respond to the neighborhood environment primarily in terms of its very immediate and direct influences which affect their self-image as perceived by people from outside the area.

Table 1 shows that those whose friends are primarily in the neighborhood say that they also feel a "part" by nearly a 3-to-1 ratio, in both areas, which is consistent with our expectation that identification with the neighborhood is linked to one's social involvement in the area. However, for those whose friends are elsewhere, Cambridge is reversed, as expected, while those in Medford still say predominately that they feel a part of the neighborhood.

We interpret this as evidence of the correctness of our initial assumption that Medford is a more desirable location, and hence will reflect a higher level of satisfaction. If we consider the differences in the orientations of self-conceptions as discussed above for those whose friends are mostly in the area to those whose friends are mostly elsewhere, we may see this more clearly. For those whose friends are in the area, conceptions of the neighborhood environment as a reflection of self would be the similar -- or at least conceived by any given individual as the similar. But, for those whose friends are largely outside the neighborhood, the environment as a reflection of self-identity is a more critical matter. If that person believes that his area has a highly positive social image, he would be more likely to identify with it; but if the reverse were true, he would be much more inclined to say that it was just a place to live -- thereby disassociating himself from the neighborhood as a reflection of himself. Hence, if our initial assumption is correct, then the results of Table 1 are entirely consistent.

3. Relationship of Number of Friends in Area

Further insight into the relationship between a person's sense of identification with the neighborhood and his social ties can be seen by comparing the number of people he knows there and whether he feels part of the neighborhood.

TABLE TWO

	MEDFORD					CAMBRIDGE			
	no. of friends in area					no. of friends in area			
Groups	0-5	6-10	11-15	16+		0-5	6-10	11-15	16+
A (Part-in)	4	2	2	2		1	1	0	5
B (Place-in)	2	1	0	0		1	1	1	0
C (Part-else)	2	2	3	4		2	1	2	1
D (Place-else)	2	1	1	1		8	2	1	0
TOTALS						GROUP COMBINATIONS			
	0-5	6-10	11-15	16+		0-5	6-10	11-15	16+
A	5	3	2	7	A+C (part)	9	6	7	12
B	3	2	1	0					
C	4	3	5	5	B+D (place)	13	5	3	1
D	10	3	2	1	A+B (in)	8	5	3	7
					C+D (elsewhere)	14	6	7	6

Table 2 tends to confirm that a person's conception of identification with the neighborhood is related to number of friends.

he knows there. Those who feel part of the neighborhood (Groups A and C) tend to have a higher number of friends in the neighborhood than do those who say it's just a place to live. (It should be noted here that each respondent defined the area which he considered to be "his" neighborhood.)

An interesting feature of this table is that those respondents in Medford who stated that they felt "part of the neighborhood," but whose friends were mostly "elsewhere" (Group C), still tend to have more friends in the area than do those in Group B, who say it's "just a place to live," but also that most of their friends are "in the area." This statistic is subject to a number of interpretations, but one might be that a person's self-conception of identity with the neighborhood is related to the number of social relationships he has there. Group C in Cambridge tends to support the same interpretation.

Another way we might look at this statistic in relation to our expectations for the B and C groups is that the C group, being oriented toward social image objectives, might either include very casual contacts in his estimate or actually exaggerate his estimates -- both functions of self-enhancement.

If our assumption that the B group's feeling that the area is just a place to live is an indication of some dissatisfaction, then it would be consistent for them to have a fairly limited number of social relationships in the area. (We might also expect that these relationships would tend to be much closer than those of Group C which could be expected to be largely confined to area norms for good neighborliness.)

Length of residence quite naturally limits the number of people one knows for those living in the area for less than five years, and generally, the data shows that length of residence increases the person's estimate of the number of people he knows in the neighborhood. However, it should also be noted that in Cambridge, of those who have lived in the area over twenty years, 8 respondents note less than 10 people that they know, while only 5 know more than 15 (compared to 1 versus 6 in Medford. See Table 3.)

TABLE THREE

Length of residence in city	MEDFORD				CAMBRIDGE			
	no. friends in area				no. friends in area			
	0-5	6-10	11-15	16+	0-5	6-10	11-15	16+
0-1 year	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
1-5 years	2	3	0	0	2	0	0	0
6-10 years	4	3	0	0	6	0	1	1
11-15 years	3	0	2	0	1	0	0	0
16-20 years	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	1
20+ years	1	0	1	6	4	4	3	5

Length of residence also appears to have some influence upon people's sense of identification. (This would be expected, especially if identification with the neighborhood is related to friendship formation. Festinger demonstrated many years ago that proximity has a significant influence on friendship formation.³⁰)

TABLE FOUR

Length of residence	MEDFORD								CAMBRIDGE							
	In City				In House				In City				In House			
	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D
0-1 year	1	0	0	2	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
1-10 years	3	2	4	3	6	2	6	2	0	0	3	7	3	1	3	8
11-20 yrs.	3	1	3	0	2	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	1	2	0	1
20+ years	3	0	4	0	1	0	3	0	6	2	4	3	3	0	2	0

The above table shows the distribution of the four groups in both areas in terms of how long they have lived in their city as well as in their present home. As can be seen in Table 4, those who have lived in the area the longest are much more likely to feel part of the neighborhood whether the majority of their friends are in the neighborhood or elsewhere (Groups A and C). Similarly, those who have been in the area only a short time tend to feel the neighborhood is just a place to live (Groups B and D). However, contrary to the general expectations of the influence of proximity on friendship formation, length of residence does not appear to strongly correlate with number of friendships in the neighborhood as opposed to elsewhere. In West Medford, of those living in the area over ten years, 7 say that their friends are mostly "in the area" and 7 say "elsewhere." In Cambridge, 10 say "in" and 7 say "elsewhere."

4. Relationship of Degree of Social Intimacy with Neighbors

A comparison similar to those above can be made by looking at the replies to the question "How many people on your street have you visited at home?" We would expect from our hypothetical profiles of

the four self-concept groups that those with "part" and "friends in the area" replies in Table 1 would tend to have visited more homes than those who did not. Home visiting was interpreted as a rough indication of closer social relationships with one's neighbors. One would expect that a person who identifies with the area would tend to have more extensive social contacts there; and that, this would lead to more home-to-home visiting. In Table 5, we can see that Groups A and C do, in fact tend to have visited more than those who say that the area is just a place to live.

TABLE FIVE

Groups	MEDFORD				CAMBRIDGE				TOTALS			
	no. homes visited	no. homes visited	no. homes visited	no. homes visited	no. homes visited	no. homes visited	no. homes visited	no. homes visited	no. homes visited	no. homes visited	no. homes visited	no. homes visited
	5+	2-	3-4	N.A.	5+	2-	3-4	N.A.	5+	2-	3-4	N.A.
A	4	1	4	1	3	0	1	3	7	1	5	4
B	1	2	0	0	1	1	1	0	2	3	1	0
C	8	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	10	3	2	2
D	0	5	0	0	2	4	1	3	2	9	1	3
Totals	13	8	5	2	8	7	4	7	21	15	9	9

Group A has only one respondent who has visited less than two homes. Group D respondents account for 9 of the 15 who have visited less than two neighbor's homes. Group C is higher than would be expected, considering that they have stated that most of their friends are outside the neighborhood. However, it is consistent in terms of our expectations that they will be likely to have self-enhancing conceptions of their relation to the area.

Table 5 also suggests that there is a higher level of use of personal space for interpersonal contact in Medford than in Cambridge (i.e. 13 in Medford versus 8 in Cambridge have visited more than 5 homes). Also, 7 respondents in Cambridge did not answer this question compared to only 2 in Medford. We would expect this based upon the higher number of those in Medford who say that they feel part of the neighborhood. The high numbers of "no answers" in Cambridge may be an indication that respondents there are sensitive to this inadequacy in their social relations in the neighborhood.

It was also found that most respondents in Medford who had visited two or fewer homes had only lived in the area for a short time while in Cambridge even those who had lived there for many years were likely to have visited only a few neighbors in their homes. This is consistent with our finding that fewer respondents in Cambridge tended to feel "part of the neighborhood."

We have noted that identity is important in social interaction because it provides guides for interpersonal behavior. If Cambridge respondents are less able to identify with their neighborhood, it is logical that the more intimate forms of social interaction would be more limited than in Medford. Instead, one would expect more formal, or stereotyped kinds of contact in neighborhood relationships. This would tend to be reinforced by the higher density and heterogeneity of Cambridge which would again limit identification. At the same time it would increase the importance of the immediate local neigh-

borhood and of maintaining privacy in one's own personal spatial environment where identity could be more easily maintained.

B. Self-Conceptions as Factors in Attitudes Toward the Spatial Environment

1. Changes in the Environment and Spatial Attitudes

If we take the four groups derived from Table 1 and compare the perceptions of each to neighborhood change, we should expect to find variations in the relationship between a person's self-conceptions of his relation to the spatial environment and his attitudes towards that environment. Table 6 compares the four groups from Table 1 with respect to whether they think the neighborhood has gotten better, worse, or stayed the same over the past five to ten years.

Group	TABLE SIX								TOTALS			
	MEDFORD				CAMBRIDGE							
	Neighborhood better	change worse	same	NA	Neighborhood better	change worse	same	NA	+	-	0	NA
A	2	2	6	0	2	1	4	0	4	3	10	0
B	1	0	2	0	1	0	2	0	2	0	4	0
C	3	3	5	0	3	2	1	0	6	5	6	0
D	0	0	3	2	4	2	2	2	4	2	5	4
Totals	6	5	16	2	10	5	9	2	16	10	25	4

For the two areas combined, half say that their neighborhood is the same, and 8 of 10 who say "not as good" are in Groups A and C who feel "part of the neighborhood." The high number of "same" comments, especially in group A, is to be expected in that these respondents are most closely ego-involved with the area, and therefore would tend to

be the most affected by changes to the image or character of the neighborhood. When compared separately, we can see in Medford that 5 of 6 who say "better" also say "part." And, all 5 who say "not as good" are also those who feel "part of the neighborhood." We would expect this because identifying with the area should increase one's sensitivity to changes which might reflect upon oneself, or affect the maintenance of those self-conceptions. This is reinforced by the fact that those in Group C whose friends are mostly elsewhere are more likely to note changes than any other group. The reason for this is that these respondents would tend to have higher levels of interaction with people from outside the area.

While the fact that Group D in Cambridge has the highest number of "better" comments seems, at first, to contradict the above discussion, we would argue that this is not the case. For, if our assumption that Cambridge is less satisfactory in terms of supporting identity is correct, then it would follow that there would be a greater tendency to say that the neighborhood is "just a place to live." Yet, at the same time, there should be a high level of positive response to any changes which could be construed as self-enhancing, since the individual is likely to be identified with the area he lives in by those he interacts with whether he desires it or not.

Finally, the fact that 62% of those interviewed in Cambridge noted changes in the area compared to only 40% in Medford, and that Cambridge has twice as many better comments, may indicate that there

is a much higher concern for the condition of the neighborhood in Cambridge. This would be consistent with our initial assumption that Cambridge is socially less desirable, and that the spatial environment is important as a factor for a person's identity and self-esteem.

Comparing the question of neighborhood change to length of residence provides some highly informative relationships. Those who saw no change in the neighborhood are distributed throughout the range of length of residence. However, those who have lived in the same house for a considerable time (over 15 years) are far more likely to say "not as good" (7 of the 12 total "not as good" replies). This is to be expected since those who have lived in the area for a considerable time are more likely to feel part of the neighborhood, and hence, to feel more threatened by change. On the other hand, those who have made moves within the area account for 12 of the 16 "better" comments. This may be interpreted as evidence of the validity of Festinger's hypothesis that people actively seek to enhance the attractiveness of decisions already made.³¹ An alternative interpretation would be that people who make residential moves within an area, do so because they prefer that area to others. However, if this were the case there would be no explanation for the fact that 75% of the "better" comments occurred in this group.

The question on neighborhood change was followed immediately by a question asking them to describe the nature of any change to the area. The same question was repeated much later in the questionnaire,

but in a quite different context. The question of neighborhood change we have been discussing above followed a series of prior questions dealing with the respondents' attitudes and values toward the neighborhood. It was intentionally left open for him to interpret these questions in either social or physical terms. The later question on change immediately followed questions dealing with physical change to his personal environment and was predominately responded to in physical terms. We shall label the first "change" question as "A" and the second as "B".

The A-change question was evaluated in several different ways. Basically, the replies were coded according to similarity of content. Frequently, respondents noted more than one change so that total replies exceed the number of respondents. Also, some respondents who answered A with a "same" reply went on to note some changes anyway. These were included in our tabulations.

The first thing that the data shows is that, despite the fact that 15 Cambridge residents noted changes to the area compared to only 11 for Medford, there are more total comments made by Medford respondents than by those in Cambridge (29 versus 23). More importantly, they are very different in content. This can be seen by comparing two of the categories: "spatial," and "civic-mindedness" orientations. The first refers to changes noted in the spatial environment or use of it, and the second to comments such as "more community awareness" and "more involved." The table below shows the scores for the two categories.

TABLE SEVEN

	Spatial		Civic	
	+	-	+	-
MEDFORD	7	3	6	1
CAMBRIDGE	11	2	1	1

The above figures illustrate the greater emphasis put on the spatial environment by residents in Cambridge than in Medford, and the almost non-existent orientation to non-spatial or social changes in Cambridge. We would expect this since 11 of the 12 respondents in Medford who noted changes felt part of the neighborhood compared to only 7 of the 15 in Cambridge. Feeling "part" of the area should tend to increase the importance of social factors, while those who are less socially involved in the neighborhood would tend to be oriented to an external audience. Hence, they would tend to focus more on self-enhancing image features of the spatial environment that are most visible to outsiders.

When the replies to the A-change question are interpreted from the perspectives of self-esteem and self-maintenance, the Cambridge respondents seem to be primarily oriented to issues of maintenance. Spatial changes noted frequently included some comments as "houses being painted," "houses being remodeled," and there were 10 comments noting that people were taking better care of their properties. Also, the socially oriented comments tended to be primarily concerned with the effects on the neighborhood of different types of people locating in the area (i.e. hippies versus young professionals). By

contrast, those in Medford tended to be more oriented to factors such as atmosphere, appearance, and condition of the neighborhood as a whole in their spatial comments. Socially oriented comments regarding change were largely concerned with improvements in the community awareness and involvement of their neighbors. Clearly, these are self-enhancing conceptions of change.

We could, at this point, re-iterate our argument that these differences between Medford and Cambridge reflect the influence of lower and less intimate social relationships in Cambridge than in Medford. However, it seems more important here to focus upon the fact that in both areas, respondents tend to respond to the area positively, and to direct negative comments towards those who fail to meet certain value standards of the respondent. It is clear that respondents focus selectively upon environmental changes in such a way as to enhance their own identity in relation to those changes.

Further evidence of this is provided if the analysis of the reasons given by those respondents in Question A who said that the area had improved is limited to two categories: social or physical. Cambridge respondents noted spatial changes 5 times as often as those in Medford. However, when we look at the content of these answers, it was found that Cambridge residents focused upon rather small scale changes in their immediate neighborhood. This was even more evident in replies to the B-question on change. While Medford respondents tended to be more sensitive to larger scale or community-oriented

changes, the even more striking difference is in the ways the two groups conceive the same kinds of change. A good example is provided by their responses to improvements in home maintenance. Medford respondents take a social perspective and provide answers such as "people taking better care of homes." Cambridgeport respondents, on the other hand, make spatial comments such as "houses remodeled" or "property being fixed up."

It is perhaps reading too much into the data, but this would tend to reinforce the idea that the way people interpret their perceptions of the spatial environment is a function of their relationship to it. The higher level of social relationships in Medford would support a more social interpretation of spatial phenomena in order to reinforce those social relations. Cambridge respondents, perhaps motivated by similar self-esteem and enhancing needs, but with less extensive social ties include as positive changes those improvements which are most visible, but not based upon an interpersonal perspective.

The motivation for self-enhancement would be expected to be present in all respondents in that it is a positive value for all of them. The sample size and the lack of detailed enough replies to the change questions prohibited the analysis of variations between our four groups. However, based on our profiles for the four groups, we would tend to expect the respondents in Group C to be the most sensitive and responsive to changes which enable them to enhance their

image of self. The B Group, on the other hand, was portrayed as valuing existing features of the area, but for various reasons not yet able to feel a part of it. Based on this we would expect them to place less value on changes, and tend to focus on the features of the environment which reflect and confirm the stability of those things which they value.

If the same-better-worse categories of the A-change question are applied to the open-ended B-change question, the following comparative table results.

TABLE EIGHT

Conception of area change	MEDFORD		CAMBRIDGE	
	Question A	Question B	Question A	Question B
Better	8	6	11	8
Worse	6	1	6	4
Same	16	19	9	10
N.A.	2	2	2	0
Neutral	0	4	0	8

The clearest trends observable when the emphasis is upon spatial changes is the decrease in negative comments, and increases in "same" comments for Medford. These would again seem to reinforce the satisfaction with their neighborhood for respondents in West Medford. Replies by Cambridgeport respondents show a drop in "better" comments

and a large number of replies which were neutral or uncodable (i.e. noted changes which could not be interpreted as better or worse, or said that both kinds of change had occurred). Changes noted in replies to Question B by Cambridgeport respondents again reflected the tendency seen in Question A to focus upon small scale changes.

The total number of "same" responses in West Medford is noteworthy for the reason that, shortly before the interviews were conducted, the city of Medford had resurfaced a number of streets, installed new street lighting, and cut down some full-grown trees in the process. Yet, in both change questions combined only one respondent referred to these actions.

A projection that one can make from this, and from the tendency of Cambridge respondents to note very minor changes, is that in an area where residents are generally satisfied with their spatial environment there is a tendency to perceive change which is consistent with one's attitudes toward the area. On the other hand, if the spatial environment is conceived to be inconsistent of what is an adequate environment, he will be more sensitive to changes which make consonant or enhance those attitudes. Hence, it is possible that in Cambridgeport, even a very small public improvement might have substantial psychological import.

The replies of the four groups in Table 1 to the A-question on change were shown in Table 6. Table 9 shows the results for the B-question.

TABLE NINE

Groups	MEDFORD Nbrhd. change (B question)				CAMBRIDGE Nbrhd. change (B question)			
	better	worse	same	NA/neutral	better	worse	same	NA/neutral
A	3	0	6	1	2	1	2	2
B	0	0	2	1	1	0	1	1
C	1	1	8	1	4	1	0	1
D	1	0	1	3	1	2	5	2
Totals	5*	1	17*	6	8	4	8*	6

* Totals not equal to B in Table 8 due to NA's in A-D groups.

The small numbers in the sample in Tables 6 and 9 prevent us from determining whether the changes in the responses by the four groups are significant. However, they do permit some speculation. Overall, there is a decrease in "not as good" responses (5 versus 10), and an increase in the number of respondents who did not answer the B-question (10 versus 4). All 5 of decreases in "not as good" responses occur in groups A and C who feel part of the area. One explanation for this might follow from the fact that since the emphasis in the B-question was on spatial changes, the focus was upon changes with respect to the "image" of the neighborhood. In the A-question, on the other hand, the responses of the A and C groups tended to be focussed upon social changes. This could be interpreted as an indication that there is greater concern for changes that are perceived as potentially threatening to the maintenance of one's self-conceptions when those conceptions are closely identified with the area. The increase in

the number of those who failed to answer the B-question occurs in all four groups. While very tenuous, a possible explanation might be that questions of spatial change that are not within a context of some value orientation are less meaningful to respondents. A test of this might have been to have included questions which asked about physical improvement or deterioration to the neighborhood in addition to the neutral question of "has there been any change".

2. Manipulation of Personal Spaces and Spatial Attitudes

Two questions in the questionnaire dealt with changes to the respondent's own home. One asked about past changes, and the second, about desired future changes. Since most all respondents in West Medford owned their own homes, while half of those in Cambridgeport rented, it was not possible to evaluate responses in terms of the four groups. However, comparing the two sets of data still yields some useful information, and we can look at the Cambridge data to see if it tends to suggest that the factor of renting is influencing the data.

From the combined data, it was found that 8 of the 11 respondents indicating "no changes made" to their own homes also said the neighborhood had not changed in Question A discussed previously. Of those who said "better" in Question A, 15 of 17 said that they had made changes. It is not possible from the questionnaire information to ascertain whether this is evidence of social influences, or of using one's own actions as a basis for evaluating the environment.

The latter possibility opens up speculation that the person may either be "sensitized" to change if he himself makes some, or that his actions are reflecting the Festinger hypothesis noted previously.

The fact that exterior changes are higher in Medford, and interior changes higher in Cambridge would tend to support "social influence," as would the higher totals (interior and exterior) on the question of "desired future changes" in Medford. However, the high rentership in Cambridge makes the emphasis on interior changes less reliable as an indicator.

The high proportion of ownership in Medford does appear to be an important factor. While this could be simply a function of the importance placed on maintenance of a major possession, it is useful to speculate on other implications. The fact that 8 of 15 renters made changes to their personal environments indicates that renting is no barrier to manipulation of those aspects of the environment over which one has some control. While the data for this study was not adequate to test it, it remains the conviction of the author that ability to manipulate or have some control over the spatial environments in which one behaves is significantly related to both identification of self with, and positive attitudes towards the spatial environment. A good deal of the analysis above tends to imply or support this, but no direct, convincing tests or correlations could be derived.

3. Selection of Personal Space and Spatial Attitudes

One of the early questions in the interviews asked the

respondent what was the most important reason he lived where he did as opposed to some other part of the Boston area. In terms of total number of reasons cited, Medford led Cambridge by 49 to 35. Coming, as it did, so early in the questionnaire it was not expected that replies would get at what might be called the "deeper" or more "basic" reasons. Rather, the expectation was that the respondent would tend to give answers that reflected what he thought the answer ought to be -- i.e. the "normal" or stereotyped replies.

Evidence that this was the way respondents approached this question is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that 27 of the 60 respondents gave the answer of "proximity" as a reason (i.e. to jobs, schools, stores, etc.) Between Medford and Cambridge, the most striking difference is that 14 replies from West Medford respondents stressed positive values of the neighborhood (liked area, good for children, quiet, clean, etc.) whereas only one person in Cambridgeport did so. In fact, excluding proximity answers, only 6 of the remaining 25 replies can be said to state positive reasons for living in Cambridge. (Other reasons include economic limitations, no choice, house in family, etc.) By contrast 23 of 31 replies, excluding proximity, are positive in nature in Medford.

This data tends to give support to the contention that people's attitudes towards their neighborhood are generally consistent with the kinds of social relationships they have within that area. It also tends to support the argument that self-conceptions of one's relationships to a spatial environment provide the basis of one's

attitudes and values with respect to the area. This is suggested by the fact that the reasons given for selection of the neighborhood were basically self-enhancing in character, and tended to be either enhancing to one's self (i.e. giving answers which reflect positively on one's self-image), or to enhance the qualities of the area itself which, in turn, reflects on the person. Cambridge residents' replies were primarily of the former, and Medford's of the latter. These tendencies were found to be generally true in all four groups.

It should be noted that both are primarily cognitive in character (i.e. the reasons given tended to be subjective cognitive categories rather than absolute physical properties of the area -- both Medford and Cambridge respondents gave "convenient to Boston" as a reason despite differences in distance.)

C. Reflections of Self-Conceptions in Values Toward the Environment

The preceding discussion has developed the idea of the self-conception as the basis of analyzing the way a person relates the spatial environment to himself. The implications, in terms of meaning, that the spatial environment has for any individual was portrayed as a function of his subjective conceptions of its relationship to certain socially relevant roles through which he participates with others. The data has tended to support this contention.

One would expect that the nature of these relationships to the spatial environment would be reflected in the expressed positive and negative value statements of the respondents towards their respective neighborhoods. Two of the questions in the survey asked the respon-

dents what they liked most and least about the neighborhood.

One might expect that more pronounced positive orientations would be evident among those expressing a high sense of identity with their neighborhoods. And, conversely, more negative comments from those who did not conceive the area as congruent with self-conceptions. Our initial assumption and the much higher proportion of those in Medford who felt "part of the neighborhood" provide the basis for expectations that Medford would tend to be more positive in expressed values toward the neighborhood. This was confirmed by the data.

TABLE TEN

	MEDFORD	CAMBRIDGE
Positive comments	75	47
Negative comments	30	42

As Table 10 shows, Medford was both higher in total positive value statements and lower in negative statements. Furthermore, the content of statements from Medford respondents differed significantly from those in Cambridge. (See Table 11.)

Referring back to the four groups noted in Table 1, it was found that the A group (part-friends in) accounted for over half of the positive comments stressing the qualities of people in the neighborhood. The C group (part-friends elsewhere) also responded as expected in having the largest percentage (42%) of their positive comments directed towards the image of the area (i.e. atmosphere, appearance, condition, maintenance, etc.). This was also true of

TABLE ELEVEN

MEDFORD CAMBRIDGE

Content of area values

positive responses

proximity, convenience, transportation	15	13
neighborhood atmosphere	13	4
neighborhood quietness	9	3
neighborhood appearance	4	-
people	4	6
neighborhood facilities	3	-
own home	3	4
people mind own business; privacy	3	3
people keep up property	3	-

negative responses

neighborhood atmosphere	3	8
neighborhood physical condition	-	5
community facilities	5	-
city maintenance	-	6
own home	-	3
people, kids	-	6
racial problems	5	-
complacency of neighbors	3	-
cost of living in area	3	-
pressure from colleges	-	3

Note - table includes only answers to which there were 3 or more replies

the D group (place-friends elsewhere) whose area image oriented comments accounted for one-third of their total remarks. However, in the A and B groups the percentages were only 25% and 16% respectively. This is consistent with our expectations for a higher level of concern for the appearance of the neighborhood to outsiders by those whose friends are mostly outside of the area.

Those who felt "part of the neighborhood" accounted for 14 of 17 positive comments dealing with social characteristics of the area. They also accounted for 10 of the 14 respondents who indicated that there was nothing they disliked about the neighborhood. This can be compared to the fact that 5 out of the 6 who said there was nothing that they liked about the area were those who said the neighborhood was "just a place to live."

Those whose friends were "elsewhere" were the most concerned with the quality of the spatial environment in their negative comments about the neighborhood, accounting for 27 of the total 40 comments. They also accounted for all 4 negative comments about the behavior of other people.

The greater sense of identity generally expressed by Medford respondents is reflected in a much greater orientation to community values as can be seen in Table 11. The lower social involvement in Cambridge is reflected in the preponderance of value statements of a highly personal character.

The increase of community-relevant comments as negative aspects of the neighborhood in Cambridge suggests that the deficiencies of

the spatial environment in Cambridge are certainly relevant issues to the residents there. What is surprising is that negative comments in Cambridge are not greatly focused upon such factors as invasions by college students, hippies, or Negroes. A conclusion we might draw from this is that while deficiencies in the social environment can be resolved by ignoring them or seeking more satisfactory relationships elsewhere, the image of one's self that is conveyed to others by the neighborhood one lives in is less easily to influence. Hence, it is perceived to be a greater problem.

In conclusion, the positive and negative value statements given by the respondents offers some evidence in support of the belief that they are aware of and concerned about the spatial environment's capacity to support, enhance, and reflect personal conceptions of self-identity and desired interpersonal relationships with others. In the following section, we shall attempt to evaluate and explore some of the implications of these findings.

They also accounted for 10 of the 14 respondents who indicated that there was nothing they disliked about the neighborhood. This can be compared to the fact that 5 out of the 6 who said there was nothing that they liked about the area were those who said the neighborhood was "just a place to live."

Those whose friends were "elsewhere" were the most concerned with the quality of the spatial environment in their negative comments about the neighborhood, accounting for 27 of the total 40 comments. They also accounted for all 4 negative comments about the behavior of other people.

In conclusion, the positive and negative value statements given by the respondents provide a strong indication that they are aware of and concerned about the spatial environment's capacity to support, enhance, and reflect personal conceptions of self-identity and desired interpersonal relationships with others. In the following section, we shall attempt to evaluate and explore some of the implications of these findings.

V. Conclusions

A. Evaluation

In this section we shall attempt to evaluate the preceding data both in terms of what it implies for man-environment relationships in a community setting, and with respect to our belief that the concept of self provides a useful analytical device for studying man-environment relations. We shall also briefly discuss some of the more theoretical foundations and relationships involved in the application of self-concepts to man-environment relations.

As was noted in Section III, it was not contemplated that this study would be able to provide anything more than indications of the character of a limited range of relationships present in the areas studied. This was even more limited by the data itself. The small sample, and its limitations in terms of providing data necessary for analysis imposed constraints. Also, a number of factors present in the data require us to emphasize the tentativeness of any conclusions. These include the low proportion of Negroes and homeowners in the Cambridge sample, income differences in the two areas, and the high number of people in the Cambridge sample who had lived there for over twenty years. In many ways, these did not seriously affect attempts to apply self-concepts in our analysis since they are elements of one's self-conception, but they did tend to bias the image one got of the two areas involved. This is important because it is necessary to compare an individual's responses to these larger images in attempting to

discern the forces acting upon him. Different individuals can respond to the same stimulus in a variety of ways. Even the same person may respond differently in different contexts. For example, while we were able to discern significant differences between the four groups in Table 1, the preponderance of long-term residents in Cambridge and the lack of tenant respondents in Medford made it impossible to properly ascertain the influence of familiarity or ownership on the attitudes and values of respondents.

Despite these constraints, the data does suggest some interesting insights and new perspectives. Residential settings are an important component of the relevant total spatial environment of the individual. It is within this spatial setting that the individual usually spends the largest block of time over many years. It is the locus of his closest social relationships, and frequently is the area both he and others most closely identify with himself. It is also the place where his single most costly personal possession is situated.

Analysis of the data focused primarily upon identity, esteem, consistency, and maintenance aspects of the self. The implications of the information derived from using these tends to suggest to us that the importance and functions of the spatial environment of the neighborhood for the individual fall into two general categories. These are orientation and self-presentation. By orientation, we mean the individual's attempts to cognitively locate himself within a social-physical environment in which, and to which he must act and respond.

Self-presentation refers to the individual's own cognitive and behavioral efforts to affect, influence, or manipulate his social position.

Orientation is a more useful term because it involves both activity and objective aspects of relating oneself to the environment. Evidence of this was provided by the fact that those who were most closely socially involved with the area were also those who identified themselves with the area. They also had the most positive, socially oriented attitudes toward the area and conceptions of change. Correspondingly, those whose friends were primarily outside the area, but yet identified themselves with the neighborhood, were primarily oriented to changes and features of the neighborhood that could affect the images of the area held by people outside the neighborhood.

Like the four aspects of self discussed earlier, orientation and self-presentation are highly interdependent. Orientation underlies and facilitates presentation, and presentation serves to enhance one's orientation and communicate those aspects of self to others. Working together, they aid the individual to interpret and respond to the environment, and to facilitate him in achieving desired objectives.

Group C in Table 1 who identified with area but maintained most of their friends outside the area provided the clearest data relative to self-presentation. Variations between the two neighborhoods tended to indicate a higher degree of sensitivity by Cambridge respondents also suggested a concern for the spatial environment with respect to presentation.

The Group C respondents were much more sensitive to the neighborhood's image and appearance than other groups. They were much more likely to respond negatively to things they felt were inconsistent with their values, and disassociate themselves from those negative aspects. Correspondingly, most all respondents tended to note positive changes which were self-enhancing in content. Self-enhancing comments were also common in responses to the question of why they lived where they did.

In general, our analysis shows man-environment relations used to indicate to oneself, and to communicate to others the nature of one's own character, capabilities, and the meaning of environmental objects and settings with respect to one's self-conceptions. Thus, as in social interaction, the self is both a determiner and a product of man-environment relations.

The study has portrayed man-environment relationships as cognitive in nature, and constructed by the individual such that a person's responses to the spatial environment, or his attitudes toward it are dependent upon his self-conceptions and the particular social situation in which he is involved.

The data also tended to support the concept that the self, as the basis of man-environment relationships, encourages a highly selective focus or orientation toward the environment. There is a propensity to conceive, select, and respond to spatial objects and situations in ways the individual believes will be most enhancing and advantageous to himself. This is, of course, constrained by the requirements and

obligations inherent in the social roles which constitute the basic framework of the self-conception.

It is these socially derived defining and constraining attributes of the self that allow us to understand how the spatial environment itself can exert an influence in shaping a person's self-conceptions. This occurs because the environmental aspects of social roles frequently become criteria for definition and evaluation of self-conceptions. We noted earlier that the self derived from an interplay between personal acts of appropriation and societal regulation. The social definitions of spatial objects and settings, and the norms that are spatially oriented predispose a person to certain beliefs and actions. Thus, the spatial environment may be interpreted as a medium through which social regulation occurs.

B. Implications

The preceding data analysis tends to support the contention that what an individual values in the spatial environment is a function of his self-conceptions and social relationships. This suggests that our efforts as planners and spatial designers must include and, at least in part, be evaluated in terms of the user's self-conceptions. There may be a great disparity between what a planner conceives as an ideal relationship between an environment and its users, based upon his role perspectives, and what the users themselves see as relevant and desirable. It has been suggested that the reason many people do not like modern architecture is because they have no basis by which they

can relate it to their own experience.³² The differences in what is important and of central concern from the planner's perspective compared to those of users are very possibly much greater than may have previously been imagined.

The most general implication of this study is that planners must concern themselves more with the social issues of the spatial environment that are relevant to those who will be using it if objectives such as increased satisfaction are to be achieved. The spatial environment should be responsive to the needs of users rather than the ideals of others for the users.

The study also supports a common assertion that the spatial environment is important as a source of cues and information. Our study relates this to the individual's needs relative to orientation and self-presentation. The more critical a given social interaction situation is to an individual, the more necessary it becomes for him to be able to discern or send these environmental cues. This suggests that spatial settings, in which it is important to have efficient, unambiguous social exchanges, should be as conventional and consistent with the user's expectations as possible. (A crude example of this may be illustrated by the difficulty most people, used to North-South oriented street grids, have in finding their way around and orienting themselves in Boston.)

At another level, the study emphasizes the importance of consistency of the spatial environment with a person's expectations in terms of diversity. Negative comments about mixed land uses and

activities in the two neighborhoods were not concerned with diversity per se, but rather with uses that were inconsistent with their own values. In Medford, many negative comments were actually concerned with the lack of facilities such as community centers. This suggests that a high level of mixed uses could be maintained as long as they tended to enhance the image of the area. In Cambridge, for example, a vest-pocket park might be seen as highly desirable -- especially since the streets are now used a good deal by children for play. But, in Medford, the emphasis on a "quiet, residential area" might cause people to see such a development as destroying the character of the area.

The ability to identify with one's neighborhood is vital to orientation and self-presentation because one's self-conceptions are so dependent upon the supportive responses of other people. If the environment fails to convey the desired impression of self to others, the possibility of conflict between a person's self-conceptions and the responses of others will be greatly increased. A good example of this occurred in the study of spatial manipulation by groups that was referred to earlier. One student who initially located on the periphery of the class space and was rated very low on sociometric testing came in one day and found his drafting table moved to a new position as the result of a re-arrangement to the class space by his fellow students. The new position was much closer to the center of the class space, highly exposed both visually and with reference to major circulation paths, and was boxed in by the tables of other students. Within one

week the student has responded with several adjustments which completely re-established his privacy and social distance from his fellow students. (See diagrams in Appendix C.)

The manipulability of the residential environment is, generally, much less than that of an architectural studio. This may be a factor in the observed tendency of people to be generally positive in their attitudes toward the areas in which they live. The fact that those who own their homes, and those who have actually made changes to their personal environments are more positive in their attitudes than others seems to support this idea. Also, the finding that people in Cambridge referred to even very minor changes as evidence of improvement in the area supports the idea that people will respond cognitively to the environment in ways that best enhance the neighborhood, and thus, themselves.

The problem with this is that responses from others may not support the individual's attitudes. A way a planner might cope with this problem would be to encourage the city, or some local improvement group, to give awards for best maintained or improved properties in a given area. This might tend to reinforce people's beliefs that such changes are indeed indicators of area improvements.

The tendency of people to selectively focus on those aspects of the spatial environment that most enhance the self could be employed as a device by planners to achieve social change or facilitate the accomplishment of their objectives. This would be especially true if people do strive for consistency in their beliefs and actions, as we believe they do.

We noted in the previous section that Medford respondents seemed to consider an increasing sense of "community awareness" as evidence of area improvement. A number of these respondents referred to the West Medford Community Improvement Association as a reason for this awareness, and as a factor in the improvement of city services. However, we also found that a number of these people did not belong to the Association, or seldomly attended meetings.

One conclusion we might draw from this is that the existence of such an organization is enhancing to the person whether he belongs to it or not. Also, its existence serves to increase people's sensitivity to community problems.

A similar situation was found in Cambridge concerning the Community Center which was referred to by many as a place of social contact even though many of those same people went there only occasionally. These examples suggest the possibility of building upon neighborhood values to achieve spatial as well as social change. Also it might be possible to increase the desirability of a neighborhood through rather modest spatial programs by focusing upon those elements most likely to facilitate self-enhancement.

In a sense, the effects of public efforts in a neighborhood are evaluated in terms of their relationship to self-presentation. Beyond a baseline of concern for the actual maintenance of an area, people in the survey appeared to be concerned about the impression of the area as one in which city maintenance was adequate. This can be

interpreted as another example of the actions of others supporting one's self-conceptions. (In this case, the actions of the city as seen by outsiders serve to enhance the person's self-concepts.)

The use of the spatial neighborhood as an element of an individual's public identity, or image, indicates that planners might consciously try to generate or enhance the public imageability of an area. Various kinds of spatial objects, treatments, or uses could be used to differentiate areas within the city. This idea was included in a utopian scheme for the city planning course in which the data for this study was collected.³³

The scheme focused on the issue of using the urban spatial environment for private symbolic communication (i.e. as opposed to public uses such as street signing). The position was taken that, in order to promote this objective, it would be necessary to provide a context in which people could freely manipulate the spatial environment.

To this end we suggested enabling policies such as low interest loans and small grants for unspecified exterior home improvements, and legislative and financial encouragement to "block" or "street" groups for the cooperative development of backyards, street fronts, or vacant yards into gardens, playgrounds, or whatever. Symbolic communication was seen to be an inevitable and inherent result of such developments.

In order to provide a spatial context that was conducive to the above policy suggestions, it was proposed that residential areas should be designed so as to offer a variety of settings progressing in size and level of privacy in order to facilitate varying levels of

social interaction and symbolic communication. At the smallest level would be the most private parts of the home. There are then the interior areas for entertaining, porches and yards which are semi-public, and finally we suggested a small public area controlled by the residents of a small number of adjacent homes. This area could be developed in a variety of ways. For example, local museums might loan statues and sculpture, recreation departments could lease park furniture and playground equipment, or a swimming pool might be installed.

Another report in the same course lends support to the idea of using landmarks as image or identity elements. It found that the areas described by the residents as their neighborhood tended to vary in size with respect to their distance from major landmarks. In Cambridgeport, those respondents living closest to the Central Square shopping area and those in, or near the public housing project described the smallest areas.³⁴ The same tended to be true of those in Medford living closest to the park.

However, it should also be noted that the more an area is defined or programmed in terms of the images it conveys, the more one limits role relationships, and the kinds of interaction and uses occurring within that setting. A good example of this might be the classroom with a fixed seating arrangement as compared to the more open and flexible seminar room which permits a variety of social relationships.

It should also be noted that the data showed that Medford respondents generally identified with a much larger area and had, correspondingly, more friends and were less affected by moving within

the area than were respondents in Cambridge. This would suggest that an individual's sense of the opportunity for forming social relationships in the neighborhood is influenced by the size of the area he identifies with.

Initiating social relationships may also be related to the character of people's personal environments. Higher levels of social contact and visiting at other people's homes were noted in Medford. The data did not provide the necessary information to make any conclusions, but it would seem logical that a spatial environment which has interior spaces, porches, yards, gardens, and the like provides a wider range of potential situations in which social contact can be initiated. In such a context, the familiarity and identification afforded by one's personal environment facilitates self-presentation and provides a range of social intimacy with maximum control by the user.

In Cambridgeport, where there are a large number of multi-family rental units, often without yards or garages, there are more "neutral turf" areas where social contact occurs. In such settings, one's presence alone is not necessarily a good indicator of roles or motives. Therefore, initiation of social encounters is more likely to be restrained, or will require self-communicatory gestures. Also, the range and opportunity for social contact will be limited by the absence of a variety of publicly available identity elements in the spatial environment.

We have discussed the importance of social relationships, identity, and length of residence as determinants of man-environment

relationships. These factors pose special problems for renters whose mobility is generally high. In addition, they may feel that a neighborhood is only a temporary home, and therefore be less inclined to identify or establish social relationships. Because of this, they must rely much more heavily upon the spatial qualities of the area as identity or self-enhancing elements. If this is the case, it would suggest that areas for apartments require special attention to spatial elements with high imageability, and self-enhancing characteristics.

Such areas might include those adjacent to parks, major landmarks, waterfront developments, or hilltops with scenic views. In San Francisco many high-rise apartments are situated on hilltops, while the lower areas are frequently limited by building codes to low structures. This tends to prevent the blocking of views that would result if high-rise structures were permitted in flat areas, but it also emphasizes the hills, and enhances the imageability and status of these areas.

Another way we might achieve this relates to the apparent importance of manipulability and control of the spatial environment. The opportunity to express one's values, attitudes, and roles through the manipulation of spatial elements could be increased for renters. Students in a course taught by Professor Van der Ryn at Berkeley suggested, in a study of dormitory housing, that residents in the dorms be given a certain number of credit units which could be used to select from a variety of room furnishings, including de-mountable wall panels

and room-dividers. In this way, they would be able to decorate their rooms according to their own tastes. This suggestion might also be expanded to rental apartments. Also, housing codes might require a minimum area of exterior space for apartments (both common and private) so as to provide the possibility for exterior manipulation of spatial elements, as well as an increased variety of settings for social encounters if desired.

The factors of personal control and manipulatability appeared to be related to positive attitudes toward the neighborhood. This certainly enhances the belief in the value of self-help, community-control, and Model Cities programs. It also suggests the possibility of government sponsored "home-owners grants," block grants, and even a much higher commitment on the part of public officials in consulting with neighborhood residents on physical programs and policies. (Even such mundane acts as asking advice on garbage collection and street maintenance schedules, or street parking regulations might have a positive influence.)

Until now, we have been speculating on the spatial and policy implications for neighborhood settings that are possible based on the preceding study. We can also suggest some implications for the study of man-environment relations.

One result of the application of self-conceptions to the analysis of man-environment relations is a definition of such relationships that is very useful, though somewhat exclusionary with respect to

the interests of some researchers. We would state this definition as follows: Man-environment relationships refer to an individual's subjective, cognitive beliefs concerning the influence, meaning, or value of particular physical and spatial elements of the environment with respect to himself. This definition interprets overt actions as products of man-environment relations, and considers physical and physiological factors as influences on man-environment relationships. (Unless their effect is dependent upon cognition; in which case, they would be considered to be relations.) In considering overt actions as products, we are relying upon the assumption that people will behave in ways consistent with what they believe. However, the data supported the validity of this assumption (e.g. higher levels of change to one's personal environment was related to conceptions of neighborhood improvement and positive attitudes toward the community, and higher numbers of social relationships to socially oriented positive values toward the neighborhood.)

The virtue of the above definition is its focus upon the constructive character of man-environment relationships. It avoids the tendency to regard the influence of the spatial environment on behavior as almost deterministic in character. (The writings of Alexander³⁵ and Studer³⁶ often seem to suggest this.) In affirming the constructive nature of the relationship, the focus becomes centered on the reasons for a given relationship rather than its overt characteristics. This is more useful to the planner in that these reasons may be considered as evaluative criteria which can be applied to various alternative spatial designs or programs.

It is clear that, in our definition, man-environment relationships are primarily cognitive. This will disturb many who feel that the spatial environment has some direct effect without reference to any prior cognition. While our definition interprets direct relations as products, it is not our intention to dismiss these kinds of interactions as unimportant. Rather, it is our position that for man to act or respond to any stimulus, he must first have some cognitive conception of that stimulus which will enable him to choose one response over another. This in no way suggests that his conceptions of the environment are accurate, or even logical; but, we do contend that it is that conception which determines what he will do.

For this reason, we believe that an approach such as that of self-conceptions is required in planning and research related to man-environment relationships.

The self-conception offers explanations (or, more properly, ways to explain) relations between man and the spatial environment. The planner can hypothesize certain relations based on experience, research, or intuition. The construct of self allows us to state these as evaluative criteria. Value judgments permit them to function as objectives.

As hypothetical constructs, it is less important that they be considered as having any inherent reality than that they provide acceptable explanations of the phenomena they describe. If experience invalidates them, they can be adapted until they are consonant with

observations. The point, here, being that by attempting to structure hypotheses, criteria, and objectives in terms of how a person will conceive the environment, we provide operational relationships focused on the question of why people conceive the environment in given ways. This, in turn, enables us to better predict how they will respond.

Planners, in the past, have looked at how the environment was used, and thought that, by changing the environment, they could change behavior patterns. This study suggests that why the environment is used as it is is a better approach. To get children to play in the park rather than the street requires that they believe that the park is a better place to play than the street. The question for the planner is then what can he do to influence this belief, and spatially, what can he do to influence this attitude change. If he is able to discern what it is children like about playing in the street, and how it is relevant to them, he will be in a better position to pose an alternative.

The use of self-concepts in analyzing man-environment relations also seems to resolve an issue which Carr, among others, has commented on. He asserts that architects and planners have not given much thought to how the environment should be conceived, and that they seem to have identified it only as some objective "out there" with certain effects with respect to social goals. He further states that environmental units for design-related analysis and research will have

to refer to both human activities and the settings which support them.³⁷

We believe that concepts of self are capable of serving in this "bridge" capacity. This can occur because concepts of self enable us to interpret the spatial environment in terms of its meaning to an individual, and in the same way, the meaning of activities with respect to the individual. Thus, using the person as the point of reference, both environment and behavior are interpreted by means of the same concepts and in the same terminology.

Self-concept theory has the additional advantage of employing sets of concepts and jargon which are very similar in their meaning to the ways in which they are used in the everyday language of people. This reduces the need to try to interpret the statements and actions of those one is studying. It also facilitates the collection of data in that the respondent is more likely to frame his answers in ways that are consistent with the researcher's hypotheses. And, it requires that we consider the spatial environment in terms of its influence, meaning, and value to the user rather than from the position of our own value orientations applied to imaginary situations of what we would do or feel if placed in a given setting.

FOOTNOTES

¹Daniel Seligman, "The Enduring Slum," The Exploding Metropolis, The Editors of Fortune Magazine (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1957), p. 106.

²Christopher Alexander, Notes on the Synthesis of Form, (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1964).

³Stephen Carr, "Some Psychological Functions of Environmental Form," paper read before the Symposium on Personality and Community Structures, University of Cincinnati, Ohio, January 10, 1967, p.4.

⁴Chad Gordon and Kenneth Gergen, "Introduction," The Self in Social Interaction, Vol. I, (New York: Wiley and Sons, 1968), p. 3.

⁵Gordon and Gergen, p. 3.

⁶Ralph Turner, "The Self-Conception in Social Interaction," The Self in Social Interaction, Vol. I, ed. Chad Gordon and Kenneth Gergen (New York: Wiley and Sons, 1968), pp. 94-100.

⁷Tamatsu Shibutani, Society and Personality, (Englewood, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1961), p. 89.

⁸Charles H. Cooley, Human Nature and the Social Order, (New York, Scribners, 1922 Revised Ed.), as quoted in Turner, p. 99.

⁹Albert Pepitone, "An Experimental Analysis of Self-Dynamics," The Self in Social Interaction, Vol. I, ed. Chad Gordon and Kenneth Gergen (New York: Wiley and Sons, 1968), p. 348.

¹⁰Turner, p. 102.

¹¹Gordon and Gergen, p. 3.

¹²Tamotsu Shibutani, Society and Personality, (Englewood, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1961), p. 89.

¹³Turner, p. 102.

¹⁴Edward E. Jones, Keith Davis, and Kenneth Gergen, "Role Playing Variations and their Informational Value for Person Perception," Role Theory: Concepts and Research, ed. Bruce Biddle and Edwin Thomas, (New York:Wiley, 1966), p. 171.

¹⁵Milton Rokeach, "The Organization and Modification of Beliefs," Current Perspectives in Social Psychology, ed. Edwin Hollander, and Raymond Hunt (NewYork:Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 376.

¹⁶Morris Rosenberg, "Psychological Selectivity in Self-Esteem Formation," The Self in Social Interaction, Vol. I, ed. Chad Gordon and Kenneth Gergen (New York:Wiley, 1968), p. 344.

¹⁷Pepitone, p. 349.

¹⁸Turner, p. 98.

¹⁹Ernest Hilgard, "Human Motives and the Concept of Self," The Self in Social Interaction, Vol. I ed. Chad Gordon and Kenneth Gergen (New York:Wiley, 1968), p. 375.

²⁰Paul Secord and Carl Backman, "Personality Theory and the Problem of Stability and Change in Individual Behavior: an Interpersonal Approach," Current Perspectives in Social Psychology, ed. Edwin Hollander and Raymond Hunt (New York:Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 179.

²¹Turner, p. 102.

²²Pepitone, p. 348.

²³Turner, p. 101.

²⁴Erving Goffman, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life, (New York:Doubleday-Anchor, 1959).

²⁵Edward T. Hall, The Silent Language (New York:Premier, 1959).

²⁶Rosenberg, pp. 342-343.

²⁷Jones, pp. 171-179.

²⁸David Sandahl and Richard Davis, Group Structure and Spatial Manipulation, Department of Architecture, University of California (Berkeley:By the authors).

²⁹Sammuel A. Otis, "Physical and Social Perception as Factors in Local Area Recognition," (unpublished M.C.P. dissertation, Department of City Planning, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, June 1964).

³⁰Leon Festinger, Stanley Schacter, and Kurt Bach, Social Pressures in Informal Groups, (New York:Harper, 1950), pp. 10-11.

³¹Leon Festinger, A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance (Stanford, Calif.:Stanford University Press, 1957) Ch. III.

³²Christian Norberg-Shultz, Intentions in Architecture (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1965) p. 21.

³³Rachel Glass, David Judelson, and David Sandahl, "Report I," (unpublished student report for course 11.81, Department of City Planning, M.I.T., Spring 1969).

³⁴Shoukry Roweis and William Sims, "Report II;maps," (unpublished student report for course 11.81, Department of City Planning, M.I.T., Spring 1969).

³⁵Alexander.

³⁶Raymond Studer, "Behavioral Manipulation," Connection, V, No. 1, (Fall 1967), pp 6-14.

³⁷Carr, pp. 2-4.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

DATE _____

INTERVIEWER _____

RESPONDENT ☐ MALE
 ☐ FEMALE

TIME INTERVIEW BEGAN _____

1. First, I'd like to ask you a few questions about your family and how long you've lived here and so on, just to get an idea about how long you've known this area.
- * 2. How long have you been living in(Cambridge/Medford)?
- * 3. How long have you lived in this (house/apartment)?
4. Where did you live before you moved here? (TOWN or PART OF TOWN IF IN CAMBRIDGE)
- * 5. What is the most important reason you live here in this neighborhood rather than in some other part of the Boston area?
6. Are you married, single, or what? ☐ SINGLE (SKIP TO Q.9)
 ☐ MARRIED
 ☐ DIVORCED
 ☐ WIDOWED
7. Do you have children? ☐ YES
 ☐ NO (SKIP TO Q.9)

* Questions used in study noted by an asterisk.

8. How old are they? Are they all living with you now?

<u>Age</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Live w. R</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Live w. R</u>
(1)			(5)		
(2)			(6)		
(3)			(7)		
(4)			(8)		

* 9. Now I'd like to ask you some questions about your neighborhood here.

I will be using the word "neighborhood" in some of these questions. What would you say is your neighborhood?
(IF UNCERTAIN: PROBE []) Well, what is the part of the city in which you live, which you feel is your neighborhood?

* 10. What are the boundaries of your neighborhood?

11. (IF R DESCRIBES AN AREA OF MORE THAN 8 BLOCKS, SKIP TO Q. 12)
That's a close, local neighborhood. Do you have a wider neighborhood as well?

What are its boundaries?

12. What are the main streets and public places in this neighborhood?

* 13. Taking the people or families that you visit or go out with, would you say that most of them live in the neighborhood, or someplace else?

[] IN NEIGHBORHOOD

[] SOMEPLACE ELSE

* 14. Roughly, how many people or families do you know quite well in the neighborhood? (GET NUMBER)

(PROBE IF NECESSARY []): Well, would you say twenty or more, ten or so, five or so, or almost none?

* 15. Could you tell me, taking the three people in this neighborhood that you know best, where each one lives--in this building, next door, across the street, in this block, or somewhere else?

	<u>First</u>	<u>Second</u>	<u>Third</u>
IN THIS BUILDING	_____	_____	_____
NEXT DOOR	_____	_____	_____
ACROSS THE STREET	_____	_____	_____
IN THIS BLOCK	_____	_____	_____
OTHER (SPECIFY)	_____	_____	_____

- * 16. Are any of those people relatives? (INDICATE WHICH FAMILIES, IN Q. 15)

- * 17. Do you have any (other) relatives in the neighborhood?

(IF YES) Where do they live? (LIST EACH PLACE AND NOTE ROUGHLY WHAT AGE/SEX/FAMILY TYPE)

18. Do you have (other) relatives around Boston that you visit sometimes?

[] NO (SKIP TO Q. 19)

[] YES.

Where do they live? (LIST EACH PLACE: GET DETAILED LOCATION IF IN CAMBRIDGE/MEDFORD)

- * 19. About how many people or families on your street would you say you know by name--less than five, five to ten, ten or more? (I. SHOULD NOTE HOW LONG THE STREET IS VERY ROUGHLY.)
- [] LESS THAN FIVE
- [] FIVE TO TEN
- [] TEN OR MORE
- * 20. How many of them (on this street) have you visited at home?
- * 21. How many of them do you talk to by first name? _____
22. (IF R HAS CHILDREN) How many families on this street have children with whom your children play?
23. Do you see the people around here about as often as you want to, or too much, or would you like to see more of them?
- [] OFTEN ENOUGH
- [] TOO MUCH
- [] WOULD LIKE TO SEE MORE OF THEM
24. Apart from meeting in each others homes-- where else do you get together with people around here?

(SEE PROBES NEXT PAGE)

(PROBE IF NECESSARY)

(CHECK IF HAD TO PROBE)

On the street?	(YES [] NO [])	[]
On the porch?	(YES [] NO [])	[]
At the store?	(YES [] NO [])	[]
At the laundromat?	(YES [] NO [])	[]
At church or at meetings?	(YES [] NO [])	[]
Any place else?	(YES [] NO [])	[]
(Where is that?)		

25. How are you likely to make a new friend or get to know someone in this neighborhood?

26. Can you tell me about the friends you have in the Boston area who don't live right in this neighborhood---about how many families or people do you see (not including relatives) who live outside this neighborhood, anywhere in the Boston area?

How many?

Can you give me some idea of where those friends live? (NOTE SECTION OF CAMBRIDGE/MEDFORD, OR NAMES OF OTHER TOWNS, AND ROUGH INDICATION OF NUMBERS OF FRIENDS AT EACH LOCUS)

27. For your closest friend outside this neighborhood (not including relatives) what part of the Boston area does he or she live in? (IF NONE, SKIP TO Q.28)

How did you get to know (him)?

Can you remember where you first met?
(Where?)

How often do you see (him)?

Where, usually?

Would you like to be able to see (him) more often, or do you see each other about the right amount?

Do you ever drop in on (him) on the spur of the moment?
(IF YES) When would you be likely to do that? (under what circumstances)

28. Think of the last time you just happened to run into someone you know unexpectedly, someone who lives outside this neighborhood.

Where did it happen?

How did you both happen to be there?

- * 28a. Now, talking about the neighborhood again, what do you like best about this neighborhood?

Anything else you like?

- * 28b. What don't you like about this neighborhood?

Anything else?

- * 29. What is your idea of a good neighbor?

(PROBE IF NECESSARY []): For example, do you like a neighbor to be helpful, or to mind his own business, or what?

- * 30. Would you say that most of the people around here are the same kind of person you are, or are some, or most of them different?

[] SAME (SKIP TO Q. 32)

[] SOME DIFFERENT

[] MOST DIFFERENT

- * 31. In what way would you say they are different?

- * 32. Some people like to live in places where they see a lot of their neighbors and talk with them a lot. Do you think this is that kind of place?

[] YES

[] NO

- * 33. Some people feel they are really part of a neighborhood; others see it more as just a place to live. How do you feel about this neighborhood?

@] PART OF NEIGHBORHOOD

[] JUST PLACE TO LIVE

(REMARKS)

33a. How do you feel about privacy, living here?

Why is that?

33b. How about noise, around here?

Is there much noise from traffic?

How about the people living here--does the noise bother you?

- * 34. Over the past five or ten years has this neighborhood become a better place to live, or not as good, or has it stayed about the same?

[] BETTER

[] NOT AS GOOD

[] SAME (SKIP TO Q. 36)

- * 35. In what ways?

36. When weather permits, do you ever take walks?

[] YES

[] NO (SKIP TO Q. 38)

37. Where do you go and what do you do?

Do you usually walk with your family, or your friends, or by yourself?

38. Do you often talk on the telephone to people who live around here?

[] YES

[] NO (SKIP TO Q. 40)

39. Would you say that you usually call up for some particular reason, or to exchange news and chat?

☐ PARTICULAR REASON

☐ EXCHANGE NEWS AND CHAT

40. How do you feel about having a talk with your friends *on the telephone,*
compared w/ visiting them?

41. I've also wondered about those radio talk programs---do you often listen to them?

☐ YES

How often, about? _____

☐ NO

Have you ever listened to them? _____ (IF NO, SKIP TO Q. 43)

42. Have you ever tried telephoning in to one of those programs?

☐ YES

☐ NO

43. People do many different kinds of things for entertainment and recreation---they eat out, go to the movies, or a ball game or the beach, or many other things. When you go out for entertainment or recreation do you usually go in this neighborhood or somewhere else?

☐ IN THIS NEIGHBORHOOD

☐ SOMEWHERE ELSE

44. What kinds of recreation or entertainment do you use in this neighborhood? (GET FULL INFORMATION FOR EACH)

Kind

Where's that?

About how often?

(PROBE IF NECESSARY []) Do you eat out or go for a drink in this neighborhood? Movies?

45. What kinds of entertainment and recreation do you go to outside of the neighborhood?

With other people
from this neighborhood by
yourself, or with people
from outside the neighborhood?

Do you go there
by car or bus or
what?

ind

Where?

How often?

(CONTINUE TO PROBES ON NEXT PAGE)

Any others? (PROBE [] Eating out? Movies? Ball games?
Other sports? Races? Beach? Museums? Zoo? (GET
FULL INFORMATION LIKE ABOVE)

<u>Find</u>	<u>Where</u>	<u>How Often</u>	<u>With Whom</u>	<u>Car or bus or?</u>
-------------	--------------	------------------	------------------	-----------------------

46. Does your family own a car?

[] YES

[] NO

[] OTHER (EXPLAIN)

47. Where do you usually do your grocery shopping?

(Is that in R's neighborhood?)

Is that a supermarket or a local store?

How do you get there -- car or bus or what?

(IF LOCAL STORE) Why do you prefer that store to a supermarket?

48. (IF NO CHILDREN, SKIP TO Q. 50)

Where do your children go to school--in this neighborhood
or somewhere else?

☐ IN NEIGHBORHOOD

☐ SOMEWHERE ELSE

Where is that?

49. Is that a public or private or parochial school?

50. Do you work?

☐ YES

☐ NO (SKIP TO Q. 56)

51. What kind of work do you do?

52. Where do you work?

53. How do you get to work? (CHECK MORE THAN ONE ONLY IF R USES BOTH
ON A SINGLE TRIP. FOR EXAMPLE BUS AND SUBWAY)

☐ OWN CAR

☐ CARPOOL

☐ BUS

☐ SUBWAY

☐ TRAIN

54. Are you satisfied with the transportation to work?

55. About how long does it take you one way: door to door?

(IF HAS NO OTHER EMPLOYABLE ADULTS IN FAMILY, SKIP TO Q.62)

56. Does Your (husband/wife/son work?

57. What kind of work does (he/she) do?

58. Where does (he/she) work?

59. How does (he/she) get to work? (CHECK MORE THAN ONE ONLY
IF R USES BOTH ON A SINGLE TRIP).

[] OWN CAR

[] CAR POOL

[] BUS

[] SUBWAY

[] TRAIN

60. Is (he/she) satisfied with the transportation?

61. About how long does it take (him) one way, door to door?

62. Where do you usually do your major shopping other than grocery shopping? (List each type mentioned):

<u>Type</u>	<u>Where</u>	<u>How often</u>	<u>How do you get there-- car, bus, or what?</u>
-------------	--------------	------------------	--

* 63. Do you belong to a club or some organization like that--social clubs, church groups, lodges, unions, civic organizations, or something like that?

_____ Yes

_____ No (Skip to Q. 64)

* 64. Which (clubs or organizations)? (EACH)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Where is that?</u>	<u>If out of neighborhood, how'd you happen to join it?</u>	<u>How often do you go?</u>	<u>How do you get there-- car, bus, or what?</u>
-------------	-----------------------	---	---------------------------------	--

65. What church or synagogue do you go to?

(Where is that?)

66. Would you say that you go to (church/synagogue) frequently or occasionally, or rarely?

[] FREQUENTLY

[] OCCASIONALLY

[] RARELY

67. What are your three favorite places in the Boston area?
(PROBE IF NECESSARY []) I mean places where you'd like to go in the Boston area. (LIST THE PLACE FIRST: THEN ASK THE OTHER QUESTIONS ABOUT EACH.)

Place	How often do you go there?	How do you get there?	Are you satisfied with how you get there? (Why not?)	Do you go there as often as you like? If not, why not?
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

67. Tell me as many reasons as you can to explain why you like each place.

Place 1:

Place 2:

Place 3:

68. I'd like to ask you about meeting people who don't live in this neighborhood. Can you tell me about one recent time when you met someone new who lives outside this neighborhood?

How long ago was that?

Where did you meet?

Were you introduced by a friend, or did you just start talking?

What brought you there?

How often do you go there?

Have you seen him again since the time you first saw (him)?

(CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE)

68.CONT. IF YES: Was it the same place?

IF NO: Do you expect to see (him) again?

Where?

69. Coming back to your neighborhood:

What streets and places are most typical of your neighborhood?
(IF OUTSIDE NEIGHBORHOOD, GET ANOTHER ANSWER FOR INSIDE.)

* 70. What would you most like to have a new visitor see in this neighborhood?

~~70. What would you most like to have a new visitor see in this neighborhood?~~

* 71. What would you least like a new visitor to see?

* 72. What public places in your neighborhood do you like?

(PROBE IF NECESSARY) Parks, town buildings, squares?

Why?

* 73. What public places do you not like?

Why?

74. How about parks and playgrounds? Which ones are near you?

75. Do you (or your children) go there, (or other parks--SPECIFY),
in spring or other times?

	<u>YOU</u>	<u>YOUR CHILDREN</u>
IN SPRING	---YES---NO	----YES---NO
IN SUMMER	---YES---NO	----YES---NO
IN WINTER	---YES---NO	---YES ---NO

About how often? You _____ Your children _____

76. Where else do children play around here?

77. How about teenagers?

78. How do you find out what's going on in your neighborhood? (IF
DOESN'T UNDERSTAND, PROBE () How about things like fairs, a
wedding, or a store having a sale or something?

79. Do you find things out through the local newspaper, by looking
at posters in store windows and other places, on church lawns?
(Where?)

80. I'd like to ask you about what kinds of local service people you have
around here--I mean ~~del~~liverymen, police, mailmen and such.
(CONTINUE IMMEDIATELY WITH NEXT PAGE)

80. In a city, people sometimes don't know the delivery and mail men. Do you have a regular mailman?

_____ YES

_____ NO (SKIP TO Q. 81)

Do you say Hello to him?

_____ YES

_____ NO

Do you know him by name?

_____ YES

_____ NO

81. How about the milkman--is your milk delivered?

_____ YES

_____ NO (SKIP TO Q. 82)

Do you know the milkman to speak to?

_____ YES

_____ NO

_____ SOMETIMES

82. What about the police--is there any local traffic cop or cruise car that you see regularly?

_____ YES

_____ NO (SKIP TO Q. 83)

How often?

83. Do you know any of the policemen in this area by sight?

_____ YES

_____ NO

84. How about other people who come around the neighborhood regularly, people like street vendors, the newspaper boy, certain salesmen, and so on?

84. Do you know (EACH OF THEM) by sight or to speak to?

85. How about storekeepers around the area, sales clerks, and such:
are there any that you know by sight and chat with?

86. Now, I'd like to ask you about your home here.

* 87. Have you made any changes to your home since you came?

_____ YES

_____ NO (SKIP TO Q. 88)

What changes?

* 88. Has the neighborhood changed in appearance? (How?)

* 89. What changes would you like to make in your home?

* 90. What changes would you like to see made in this neighborhood?

91. Do you ever decorate your house? (PROBE (): Christmas or some other holiday?

_____ YES

_____ NO (SKIP TO Q. 92)

When?

How?

92. Do your neighbors ever decorate?

_____ YES

_____ NO (SKIP TO Q. 93)

When?

How?

93. Does the neighborhood ever have any shared decoration, for example at Christmas?

_____ YES

_____ NO (SKIP TO Q. 94)

When?

Who does it?

- * 94. If you were going to tell your grandchildren about this neighborhood nowadays (if they had never been here), what would you tell about?

95. (OMIT IF DESCRIBED A "SMALL" NEIGHBORHOOD IN ANSWER TO Q. 10). We've been talking about the neighborhood as you described it at the beginning. Do you also have a much smaller area right around here that is a very local neighborhood?

What area does that cover? (What boundaries?)

96. Now just a few questions about T.V. What do you usually do if someone drops in while you are watching TV? ^ Turn it off? Lower sound? Leave it alone? (PROBE IF NECESSARY ())

97. People often talk to other people about television programs they've seen--can you remember talking to somebody recently about a program?

Which program was it?

What was it about?

98. Does your family watch TV often?

Roughly how many evenings a week?

What about mornings and afternoons?

99. If you didn't have TV, would it make a difference?

Would you mind much?

100. What sorts of programs do you prefer?

What sorts of programs does your (husband/wife) prefer?

101. Do you ever stay at home rather than go out, because you want to watch a particular program?

_____ YES

_____ NO (SKIP TO Q. 98)

Which programs?

102. The reason I'm asking about TV is that some people say that television has taken the place of seeing friends and neighbors. What do you think?

- * 103. Now just a couple of last questions about your family.

Considering all sources of income and all salaries, what was the total family income in 1968 -- before deductions for taxes or anything? Would you look at this card and tell me in which group the family income falls? (HAND CARD)

(IF NECESSARY, EXPLAIN []) This is just so we'll get some general picture of the different kinds of people we talk to.

- ___ a. Under \$1,000
- ___ b. \$1,000 to \$3,999
- ___ c. \$4,000 to \$6,999
- ___ d. \$7,000 to \$10,999
- ___ e. \$11,000 to \$14,999
- ___ f. \$15,000 to \$19,999
- ___ g. \$20,000 or more

- * 104. (INTERVIEWER CHECK)

- ___ R IS BLACK (SKIP TO Q. 110)
- ___ R IS NOT BLACK

105. Do you know what country your family came from on your father's or mother's side of the family?

- ___ YES
- ___ NO (SKIP TO Q. 110)

Which?

106. And which generation was that, your father, grandfather, or earlier than your grandfather?

- ___ FATHER
- ___ GRANDFATHER
- ___ EARLIER (THAN GRANDFATHER)

107. Do you think of yourself as a (COUNTRY ADJECTIVE) - American?

___ YES

___ NO

108. How many of your friends are also originally from (COUNTRY)?

___ ALL OF THEM

___ MOST OF THEM

___ ABOUT HALF

___ FEWER THAN HALF

109. How many people in this neighborhood have a (COUNTRY ADJECTIVE) background?

___ ALL OF THEM

___ MOST OF THEM

___ ABOUT HALF OF THEM

___ ABOUT A QUARTER OF THEM

___ VERY FEW

* 110. One last request -- on this sheet of paper would you draw a little map of your neighborhood as you think of it? (AVOID PROBES; NOTE ORDER IN WHICH ELEMENTS ARE DRAWN. AT END, BE SURE R HAS PUT IN HIS OWN HOUSE.)

111. I was going to ask you--are there any things you think about all this, that I haven't asked you?

112. Time interview ended _____.

Interviewer fill in by observation of place:

1. Exact address

* 2. Type of Housing

___ Detached single family house

___ Row House

___ 2-4 family house (How many? ___)

___ Apartment house (About how many units? ___)

___ Other (describe): _____

* 3. Quality of housing (outside)

___ Dilapidated, very substandard

___ Deteriorating (could be fixed)

___ Generally sound

___ Excellent

* 4. (If R lives in a house and has some control over the house and yard: otherwise, skip to Q. 7). Does the house or yard have any distinguishing characteristics compared with other houses around, that were probably added by R's family?

For example:

___ Unusual color, for neighborhood

___ " trim, " "

___ Individual decoration (eagles, flags, statues, etc.) SPECIFY

___ Garden kept unusually well or badly

___ Other (SPECIFY)

5. In general, then, is the house and/or yard more "individual" than most others on the street?

_____ Yes

_____ Maybe

_____ No (Skip to Q. 6)

Why?

6. Fence or hedges or other deliberate boundary markers: describe briefly

- * 7. Quality of housing (inside apartment of house)

a. _____ Poor furnishings

_____ Medium furnishings

_____ Good furnishings

b. _____ Messy or dirty

_____ . . . medium

_____ very tidy and clean

c. Comments about inside

Interview fills in from observation of R:

- * 8. R's age: best guess

9. R's morale (about life in general)

_____ Excellent

_____ Very good

_____ Good

_____ Fair

_____ Poor

10. R's cooperativeness towards the interview:

_____ cooperative

_____ neutral

_____ antagonistic

11. R's race

_____ white

_____ Negro/Black

_____ Oriental

_____ Other (Specify)

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX B

		<u>MEDFORD</u>				<u>CAMBRIDGE</u>				<u>TOTAL</u>			
		A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D
Sex	M	6	1	5	4	2	3	3	5	8	4	8	9
	F	4	2	6	1	5	0	4	5	9	2	10	6
Age	0-20												
	21-25	1								1			
	26-30	1			1			2	4	1		2	5
	31-40	3	3	5	1	1	1		2	4	4	5	3
	41-50	3		2	3	4	1	2	2	7	1	4	5
	51-60	1		2				1	1	1		3	1
	60+	1		2		2	1	2	1	3	1	4	1
Ethnicity	Negro	7	1	3					1	7	1	3	1
	WASP	3	1	6	3	2	2	7	9	5	3	13	12
	Irish		1		2	4	1			4	2		2
	Ital.			2		1				1		2	
Income	1-4000					2		2	2	2		2	2
	4-7000	1		1		3	1	3	2	4	1	4	2
	7-11000	5	1	3		1	1	1	3	6	2	4	3
	11-15000	2	2	3	2	1		1	1	3	2	4	3
	15-20000	1		2	2		1			1	1	2	2
	20+	1		2					2	1		2	2
Occu- pation	Exec.			1				1	1			2	1
	Bus.Man	2		4				1	1	2		5	1
	Admin.Pers.			2	2	1		1	1	1		3	3
	Clerical	2	1	3		1			2	3	1	3	2
	Skilled	1	1	1	3	2	1		1	3	2	1	4
	Mach.Op.	3					1	1		3	1	1	
	Unskilled		1			1		1	1	1	1	1	1
	Retired	2				1	1	2		3	1	2	
	Out of work					1			1	1			1
	NA								1				1
Marital Status	Single	1				1			1	2			1
	Married	8	3	10	5	6	3	5	8	14	6	15	13
	Divorced												
	Widowed	1		1				1		1		2	
	Separated							1	1			1	1

The above table shows the characteristics of the four groups along several standard social dimensions. While no really strong differences between the four groups are evident, there are some variations which we can note.

Male respondents are slightly more prone to say that the neighborhood is just a place to live (Groups B and C). Increasing age shows a slight tendency to produce more "part" responses (see Groups A and C versus Groups B and D).

Ethnicity offers the strongest correlation in the table. Those with ethnic ties are most likely to say that they feel part of the neighborhood. The implications here are obvious.

Occupation seems to correlate with the four groups only to the extent that people in positions that involve considerable social interaction are more likely to say that their friends are "elsewhere."

APPENDIX C

LIST OF MAPS

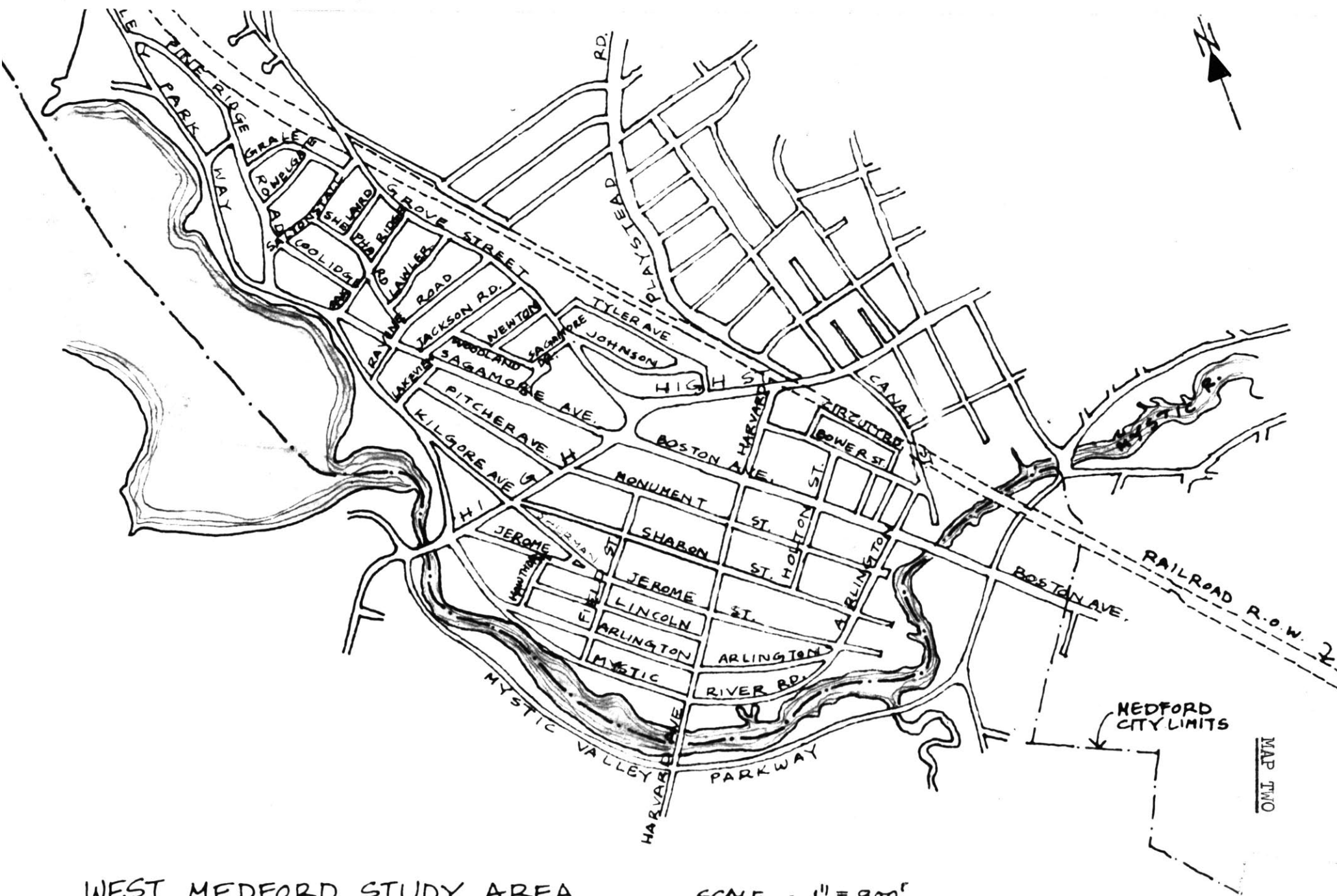
MAP 1--Boston Metropolitan Area

MAP 2--Street Map of West Medford Study Area

MAP 3--Street Map of Cambridgeport Study Area

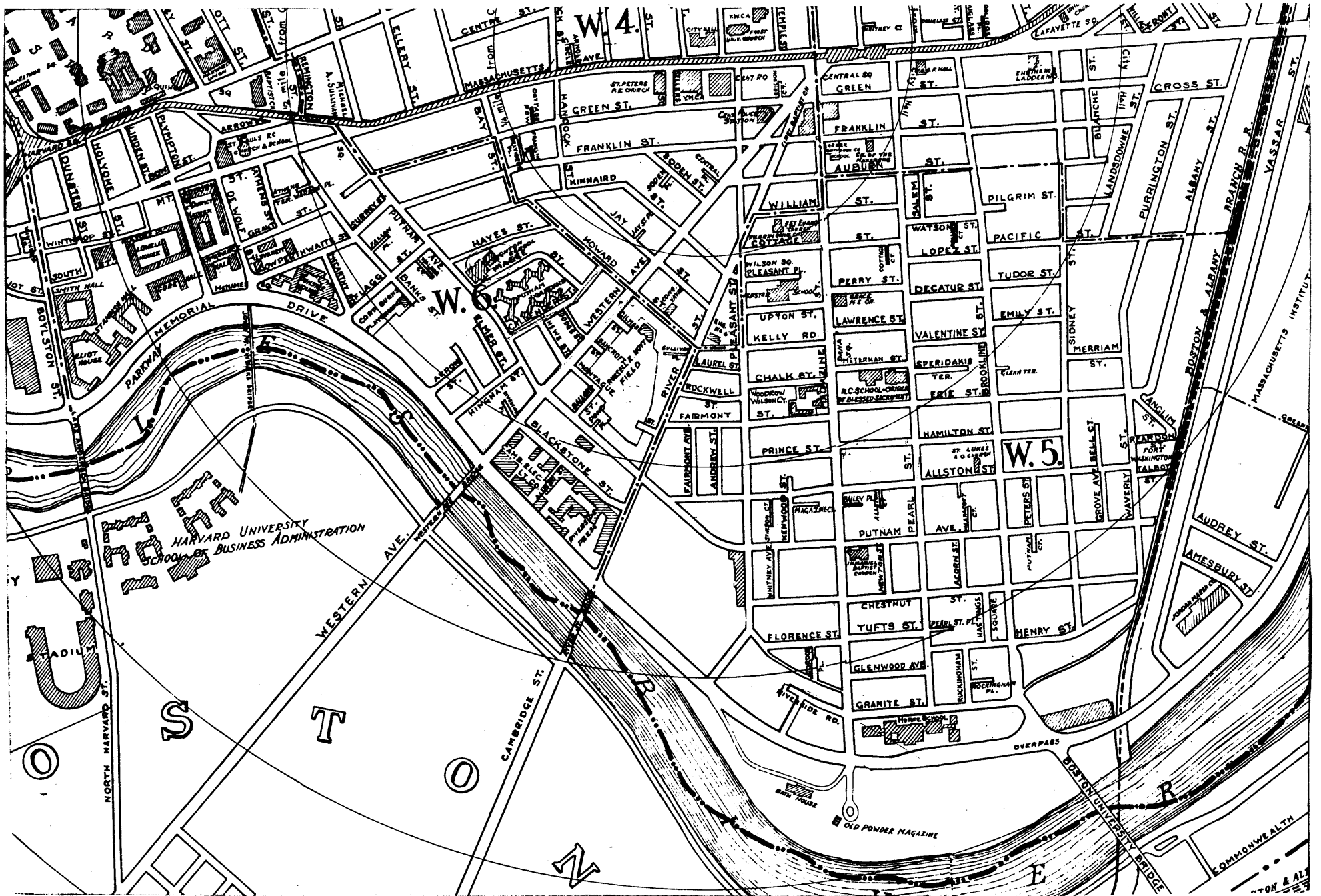
MAP 4--West Medford Physical Form Character

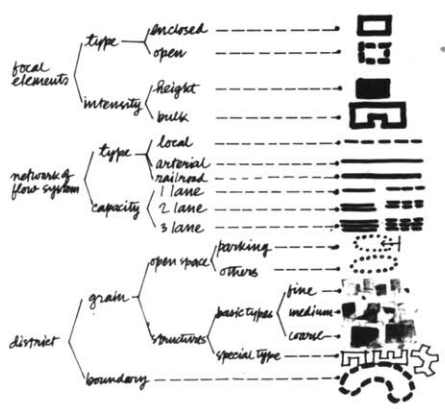
MAP 5--Cambridgeport Physical Form Character



WEST MEDFORD STUDY AREA

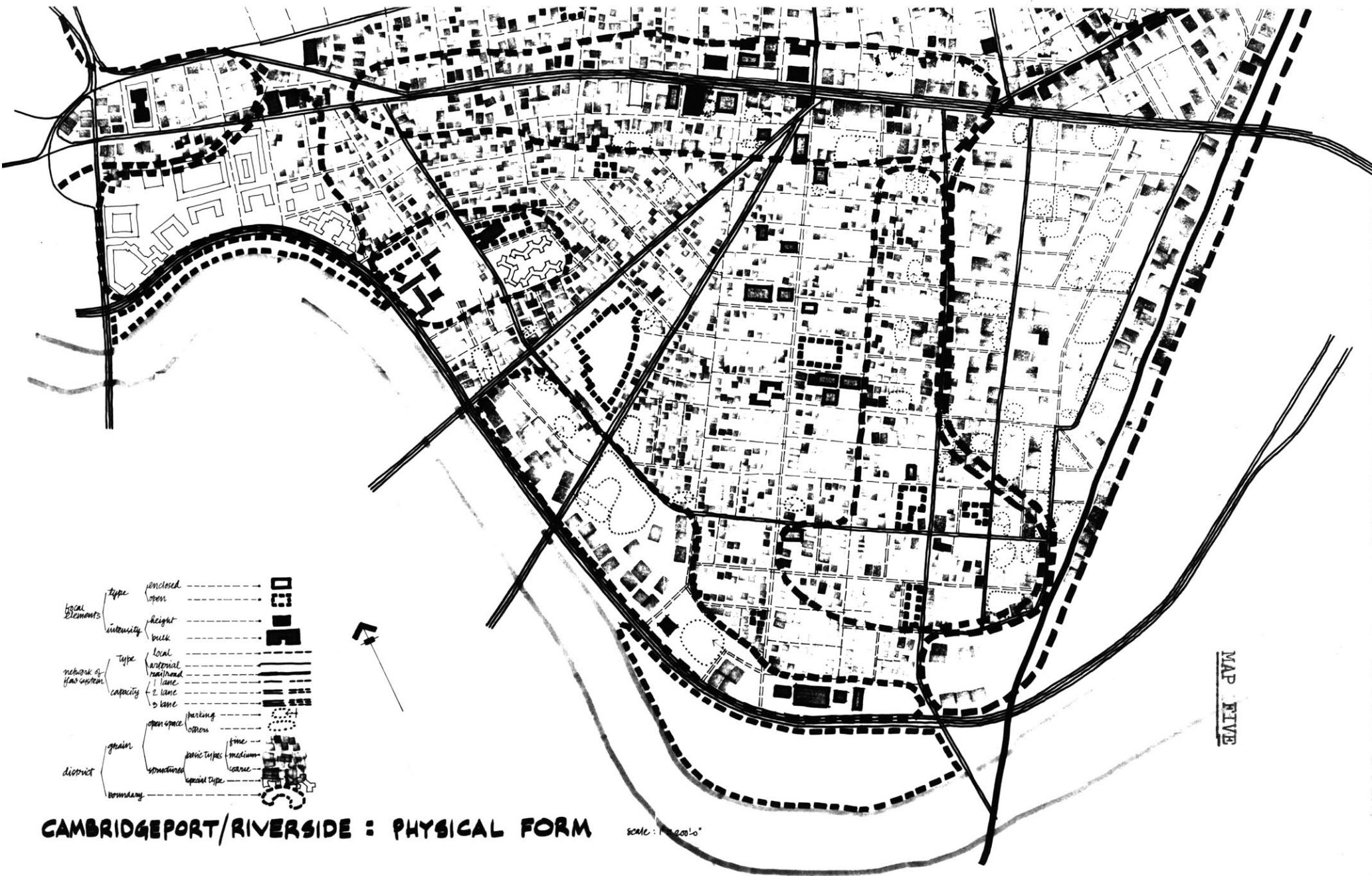
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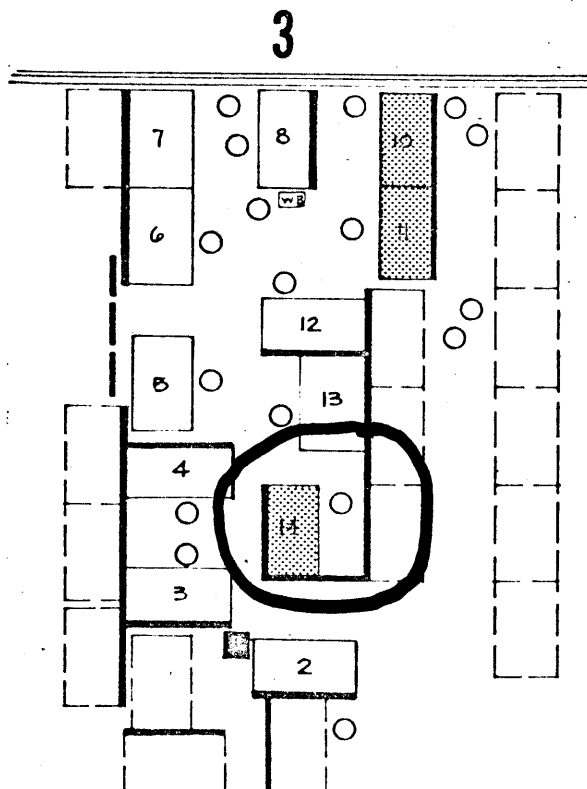
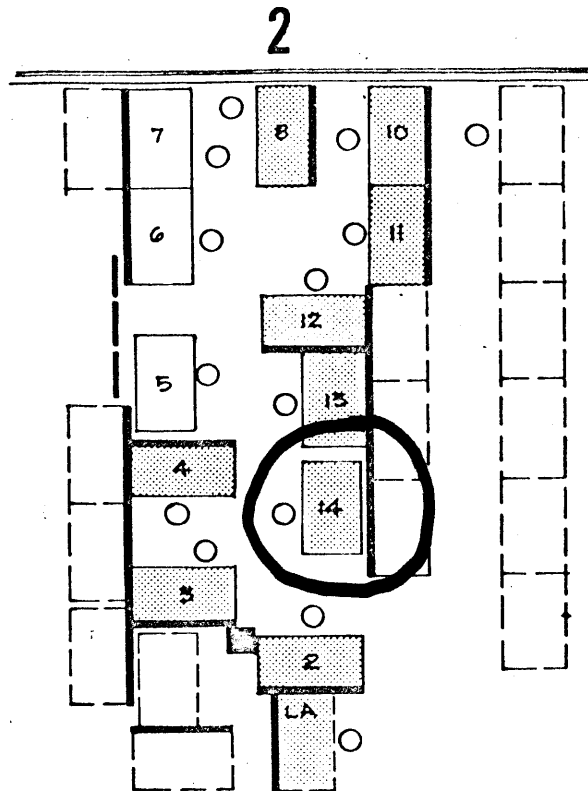
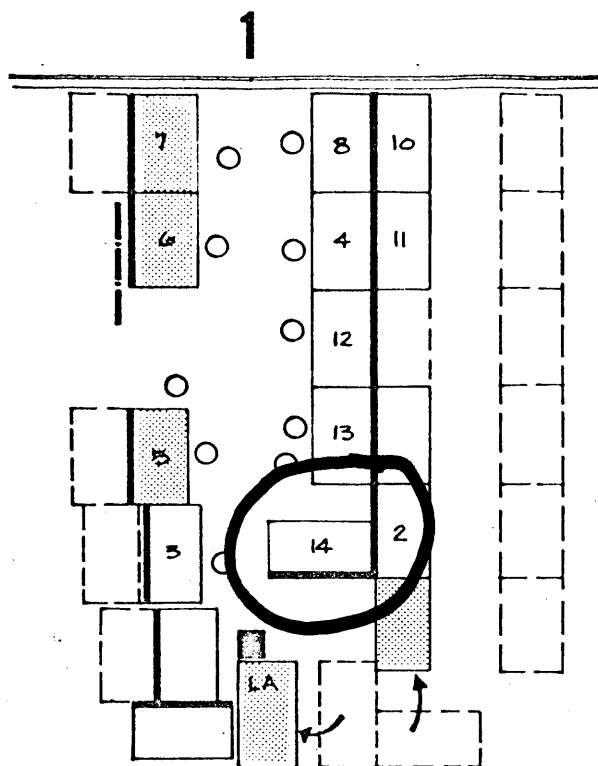


MAP FOUR

WEST MEDFORD : PHYSICAL FORM



APPENDIX D



LEGEND

Shading indicates desks that were moved subsequent to the preceding survey

Drafting tables noted by dotted lines are in adjacent class sections

Heavy lines indicate tackboards on desks (5'-0" high)

Circles indicate drafting stools

DIAGRAM ONE